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On the ELECTORAL STATISTICS of ENGLAND AND WALES, 1856-8. — Part II. — RESULTS of FURTHER EVIDENCE. By WILLIAM NEWMARCH, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Statistical Society.

[Read before the Statistical Society, 15th February, 1859.]

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I.—Introduction.

IN the two former Papers on this subject, inserted in the Numbers of the *Journal* for June and September, 1857, I endeavoured to present, in a systematic order, the results of an investigation of some extent into the changes which had taken place in the Electoral Statistics of England and Wales since the great constitutional event of 1832.

I said then, as I now desire to repeat, that Party Politics have no share whatever in directing the course of these inquiries, or in shaping the conclusions drawn from them, or influencing the tone in which the discussion is carried on. At the outset of the former Papers I promised—and I believe the promise was fulfilled—that it should not be an easy task for a reader to discover from the Papers themselves the tendency of any individual views or theories I may happen to entertain on the subject of Electoral Revision. In now resuming the inquiry I desire to place myself under a similar pledge. The rooms of this Society, and the pages of its *Journal* are almost the last place in which the controversies of Party should find a platform or a means of propagation. It is our duty and privilege in this place to occupy a neutral position towards all parties, but to be of service to all in placing before them, calmly and clearly, the real facts of important public questions; especially questions upon some particular aspect of which, Parties are, in most cases, too far intent to render it possible that anything beyond a small portion of the ascertained truth

should come before them. I am as sensible as any one that problems of Constitutional Reform are not to be solved by merely statistical methods. It would be an evil day when the inferior science of numbers should be elevated into a controlling superiority over the larger sciences of morals and government. But for all moral propositions intended to serve as the foundations of law there must be an adequate basis of authentic and carefully adjusted facts. The doctrine may not be the offspring of the facts—but it cannot afford to be strikingly at variance with them.

II.—*Questions to be Considered.*

In the former Papers we were able to ascertain :—(1) by means of a Territorial arrangement of County Divisions and the Boroughs within them, the changes which have taken place since 1832 in the distribution—as regards the leading territorial and industrial interests—of the preponderating parts of the Electoral Body ; (2) we were able also to ascertain in what places and to what extent the Old Suffrage Borough Franchises retained by the Reform Bill are still an important element in Town Constituencies ; (3) we ascertained the like results as regards the New Tenant Voters introduced into the County Registers by the same measure : and (4) we ascertained, with tolerable accuracy, the real ratios prevailing in Counties and Boroughs between Population and Parliamentary Franchises and Parliamentary Representation. So far the facts available were sufficiently distinct, extensive, and incontestible to admit of solid conclusions.

We were not so successful when we endeavoured :—(5) to ascertain with reasonable precision,—whether for the whole kingdom or for particular districts,—the relative proportion of the two classes of Houses below the present Parliamentary limit of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$; (6) nor when we attempted to ascertain the numerical effect of proposals which have been made in high quarters for extensive modifications of the County and Borough Suffrage. Several other questions we did not raise at all : (7) we did not inquire, for example, into the evidence relating to the comparative distribution of Property throughout the present Electoral Divisions of Town and Country ; nor (8) into the nature and extent of franchises already established among us by many years' trial for the Election of Local Administrators of the Poor Law and the Public Health Acts.

It is with a view principally of arriving at some satisfactory conclusion on these imperfect portions of the former Papers that the inquiry is now resumed. Since those Papers were written the mass of authentic available evidence has been largely increased. Parliament has naturally not been behindhand in procuring information on points so nearly affecting itself, and from other quarters contributions have not been scant in number.

III.—*Adult Males : Votes : Inhabited Houses.*

Let us first place before us by means of the following summary (A) an outline of the case when viewed in the most condensed form.

(A).—*ENGLAND AND WALES.—1851.—Ages and Conjugal Condition.*

MALES, 20 Years and above.	CONDITION.	FEMALES, 20 Years and above.	Under 20 Years.		Total <i>Persons</i> all Ages.
			Males.	Females	
No. 4,717,	ENGLAND AND WALES	No. 5,099,	No 4,064,	No. 4,047,	No. 17,927,
—	—	—	—	—	—
1,429,	Unmarried	1,445,	4,059,	4,023,	10,956,
2,954,	Married	2,994,	5,	22,	5,975,
334,	Widowers and Widows	662,	....	1,	996,
4,717,		5,099,	4,064	4,047,	17,927,

HOUSES, 1851.—Inhabited 3,278,000

„ Uninhabited 154,000

„ Building 26,000

Note.—The 000's are omitted : *e.g.* 4,717, represents 4,717,000.

The total number of *Males* between the ages 20–21 may be taken, for approximate purposes, at 3 per cent. of the total number of Males (4,717,000) at 20 and upwards. Thus (4,717,000—142,000) 4,575,000 will represent the Males 21 and above.

We shall see presently that the number of County and Borough Votes on the Registers of 1857–8 in England and Wales was 942,000. If we assume, as we may do on reasonable grounds, that between 1851 and the middle of 1858 the adult males—21 and upwards—had increased to not more than (say) 5,000,000, the result will be, that at the present time Votes for Members of Parliament are held in the proportion of *One Vote to 5·3 Adult Males*.

Assuming further, that the *Inhabited Houses* have increased to 3,600,000 in 1858, it will result that the Parliamentary Votes are in the proportion of *One Vote to 3·8 Inhabited Houses*.

These are the extreme results ; for it will readily occur, even to the most careless observer, that from the total number of Adult Males (21 and above), large deductions must be made for paupers and criminals, and for persons having no fixed place of abode, before we can arrive at the real number of Voters which even an universal Manhood Suffrage could provide. Similarly—if the franchise was given to all *Householders* absolutely, it is clear that from the total number of Inhabited Houses large deductions must be made for female occupiers, for houses temporarily vacant, and for interruptions arising from change of residence or locality, before we could

fix the real number of Household Voters. We may say, therefore, that the proportions of 1 to 5·3 and 1 to 3·8 considerably exaggerate the numerical differences which exist between the actual Parliamentary Suffrage and the limits to which it would extend upon a Manhood or Household basis.

IV.—General Results, 1857-58.—United Kingdom.

We may now admit the following further summary:—

(B.)—ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, IRELAND:—*Parliamentary Representation 1856-7. Counties and Boroughs—Population—Members—Electors—Amount on which Income Tax paid.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Population, 1851. (Persons.)				COUNTRY.	Present Members.		Electors on Register, 57-8.		Proportion of Electors to Population.		Total Amount on which Income Tax Assessed, 56-7. (A.) (B.) (D.)	
Counties and County Divisions.		Boroughs, excluding Coty. Dvns.			Cos.	Bors.	Cos.	Bors.	Cos.	Bors.	Cos.	Bors.
No.	Popln Mlns. No.	No.	Popln Mlns. No.		No.	No.	No.	No.	One in	One in	Mlns. £	Mlns. £
69	9·7	....	....	ENGLD. Cos.	144	....	470,000	....	20·6	....	110·4	....
....	....	186	7·1	„ Bors.	....	321	....	423,000	....	16·8	....	90·2
12	·7	....	....	WALES Cos.	15	....	36,000	....	19·4	....	5·9	....
....	....	14	·3	„ Bors.	....	14	....	13,000	....	23·0	....	2·0
81	10·5	....	....		159	....	506,000	....	20·6	....	116·3	....
....	....	200	7·4		....	335	....	436,000	....	17·0	....	92·2
30	1·8	....	....	SCOTLD. Cos.	30	....	50,000	....	36·0	....	15·8	....
....	....	21	1·1	„ Bors.	....	23	....	50,000	....	22·0	....	14·8
32	5·7	....	....	IRELD. Cos.	64	....	149,000	....	38·0	....	13·5	....
....	....	34	·8	„ Bors.	....	41	....	30,000	....	26·0	....	6·0
143	18·1	....	....		253	....	706,000	....	25·6	....	145·6	....
....	....	255	9·4		....	399	....	516,000	....	18·1	....	113·0

Note.—The materials of this Table are contained in Parl. Papers 31/58, 317/57, and 492/58.

The total number of 658 members will be obtained by adding to (253 + 399) 652 the 4 Members for Oxford and Cambridge Universities and the 2 for Dublin University. The 4 Members formerly appertaining to St. Albans and Sudbury are included in the 335 Borough Seats in England.

In this Table, as in all the other Tables throughout these Papers, the Population, &c., of “Counties and County Divisions” (col. 2 above) means the Population, &c., *exclusive* of the Parliamentary Boroughs therein—and “Boroughs excluding County Divisions,” means *Parliamentary* Boroughs taken by themselves.

In Appendix (II) a statement will be found of the reasons which seem to justify the conclusion that, as a means of estimating generally the local distribution of Property, we may best employ the Returns obtained under the Income Tax Acts, as regards the amount of Income upon which that tax is assessed under the three leading Schedules (A), (B), and (D). The (A) Schedule applies to Income derived from *property* in real estate, (lands, houses, &c.),—and exhibits, therefore, the Income of Owners of Real Property. The Schedule (B) applies to Income derived from the *occupation* of lands—and exhibits, therefore, mainly the income obtained from the cultivation of the soil by farmers, &c. The (D) Schedule includes Income and Profits derived from Trade. If we combine the three Schedules, and take, not the amounts of tax paid to the Exchequer, *but the amounts of Income upon which the tax is assessed*, we shall obtain probably the best available index of the territorial distribution of wealth as shewn by the total of the annual incomes of 100*l.* and upwards. To arrive at the corresponding result as regards Property or Capital, it would be necessary to be able to convert the different classes of income, at the fair number of years' purchase, into capital.

Taking the facts of the above Table (B) we have the following results, as the—

(C.)—*Proportion of MEMBERS to INCOME (assessed) and POPULATION in 1851—
that is, One Member to the following AVERAGES of Income and Population:—*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Counties and Boroughs.	ENGLAND, One Member to		WALES, One Member to		SCOTLAND, One Member to		IRELAND, One Member to		
	Income.	Populn.	Income.	Populn.	Income.	Populn.	Income.	Populn.	
Counties.	£ 760,000	No.	£ 400,000	No.	£ 520,000	No.	£ 210,000	No.	
„	....	67,000	....	46,000	....	60,000	....	90,000	
Boroughs	280,000	....	140,000	....	660,000	....	150,000	....
„	....	22,000	....	21,000	....	47,000	....	20,000	
General average }	455,000	....	205,000	....	572,000	....	185,000	....
	....	39,000	....	34,000	....	54,000	....	62,000	

The irregularities presented by this Table, whether on the basis of Income or Population, are exceedingly striking. For example, in the English *Boroughs*, as compared with the English *Counties*, there is one member to *one-third* the Population and *one-third* the

Income,—in other words, the Boroughs, as compared with the Counties, are over-represented, by 3 to 1·0 as regards the Population, and by nearly 3·0 to 1·0 as regards Income. Again, the *Irish Counties*, compared with the English Counties, have an excess of representation of nearly 4·0 to 1·0 on the basis of Income,—the Population, however, being larger. The *Irish Boroughs* also, compared with the English Boroughs, have an excess of representation of nearly 2·0 to 1·0 as regards Income—and the Population is also smaller.

The facts in these two Tables, (B) and (C), render it tolerably obvious that whatever may have been the circumstances under which the present distribution of Members may have been settled, it is impossible to reduce that distribution as it stands into accordance with any systematical scale either of property or population. The one constant characteristic of the existing state of things is its Irregularity.

V.—Territorial Groups of Counties.

I attached considerable importance in the former Papers to the arrangement of all the facts on a Territorial Basis,—meaning by Territorial Basis the grouping together of Counties having in common, in a great measure, the same social and industrial peculiarities and interests; and the further I have investigated the subject the greater importance I have been led to attach to an arrangement of this nature, as the only fair and safe method of procedure. The Territorial Groups of Counties of the former Papers are accordingly carefully preserved in this. These eleven groups do not quite correspond with the groups adopted by the Registrar-General for the purposes of his office, but the differences are not so great as to render inapplicable, for a general argument like the present, the following statistical abstract (D) from the Census Returns of the Occupations of *Adult* persons in the respective groups.

A List of the Counties and County Divisions composing each of the Eleven Groups will be found in a subsequent Table (H). In the following Table (D), the two Groups of South and North Wales are combined. The varieties of Industries prevailing in different parts of the country—even in those parts generally described as exclusively agricultural or manufacturing—may be usefully traced in the following summary (D).

(D).—ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851.—*Registration Groups of Counties, with the PER CENTAGE Proportions of the OCCUPATIONS of ADULTS—20 years and above—in the four leading divisions of INDUSTRY.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Area in Statute.	Total Popln. 1851.	GROUPS OF COUNTIES.	Persons 20 Yrs. and above, 1851.	Ratio of Persons, 20 and above, engaged in			
				(a.) Mechel. &c.	(b.) Agrcltr.	(c.) Mnfrs.	(d.) Mining
Acres. Mlns. ·08	No. Mlns. 2·36		No. Mlns. 1·40	Pr. Ct.	Pr. Ct.	Pr. Ct.	Pr. Ct.
—	—	(i.) Metropolis	—	47·6	1·1	6·0	3·5
4·06	1·63	(ii.) South-Eastern.....	·88	30·7	20·8	2·5	2·4
—	—		—	—	—	—	—
3·20	1·23	(iii.) South-Midland	·66	28·3	25·4	7·1	2·4
3·21	1·11	(iv.) Eastern	·60	27·4	26·5	4·0	2·3
5·00	1·80	(v.) South-Western.....	·98	28·6	23·3	4·6	5·6
3·85	2·13	(vi.) West-Midland	1·16	29·1	15·5	5·2	12·6
15·26	6·27		3·40	28·4	22·7	5·2	5·7
—	—		—	—	—	—	—
3·54	1·21	(vii.) North-Midland.....	·65	31·8	21·7	6·4	5·3
5·65	4·28	(viii.) No'.-Wstn.-Yorksh.	2·31	27·5	11·3	19·5	6·4
3·49	·97	(ix.) Northern	·52	27·7	16·1	4·2	12·4
32·08	16·72		9·16	31·0	18·0	6·6	5·8
5·22	1·18	(x.) Welsh	·64	21·8	25·7	2·5	12·4
37·32	17·90		9·81	31·0	16·1	8·4	6·3

Note.—This Table—a few modifications being made—is obtained from the valuable series of Papers which, under the title of “Poor Rates and Pauperism,” is issued at Monthly and other intervals, under the supervision of the Poor Law Board, and under the immediate care of Mr. Purdy, the Head of the Statistical Department of the Poor Law Office.

The Occupations in the (a) division (col. 5) embrace “Mechanical Arts, Trade, and Domestic Service.”

I have distinguished in this Table (D) the Four Groups (III), (IV), (V), and (VI), as composing what may be called the Great Agricultural Region of England and Wales, as separated from the Great Towns—from the Metropolitan District—and from the Regions of Manufacturing and Mechanical Trades; and we shall find as we proceed that it is desirable not to lose sight of this further simplification even of the Eleven Groups.

As regards England, the Agricultural Region embraces nearly *half*

the surface, and contains a *third* of the Population. Agriculture is its principal occupation, but its Industries are various. It is eminently the region of Towns and Cities of the third and fourth order—of Ornamental Residences—of some Manufactures—of more Mines—of some large Ports—and of the mixed and chequered life which leads in this country into a fusion of classes so complete that it is impossible to draw anywhere a marked line between their component parts.

VI.—*Small, Medium, and Large Houses* :—*Male Occupiers*, 1858.

I have stated at some length in the first of the Appendices attached to this Paper the conclusions which arise out of the most recent available evidence relating to the relative proportions in England and Wales of what may be called, for our present purpose, the Small, Medium, and Large Classes of Dwelling Houses; meaning by *Small* Houses those of which the Rent or Annual Value is *under* 6*l.* per annum; by *Medium*, those of which the Rent is 6*l.* and *under* 10*l.*; and by *Large*, those of which the Rent is 10*l.* and *above*.

I have explained in the Appendix (I) how it happens that the operation of the Small Tenements Rating Act of 1850 has enabled us to obtain more complete Returns than formerly of the real number of Properties assessed to Poor Rate, and inferentially from the number of Properties the number of Dwelling Houses. I have also explained the important modifications of former conclusions which have been rendered necessary by this more perfect knowledge.

Comparing the results of the best evidence available when the Papers of 1857 were written with the results of the evidence described in the Appendix, we arrive at the following statement :—

(E.) — *Four Counties of Lancaster, Suffolk, Hants, and Gloucester.* —
Proportion of the three Classes of Properties assessed.

Year.	Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	£100 above.
1850-1	55·3 per cent.	15·3 per cent.	29·4 per cent.
1856-7	62·4 ,,	15·0 ,,	22·6 ,,

We have here, according to the later and more correct Returns an *increase* of nearly one-eighth on the Small properties, and a *decrease* of nearly one-fourth on the *Large* properties,—the *Medium* remaining about the same.

Allowing for differences between actual Rent and Rateable Value, I am led to the conclusion that at the present time, for the whole of England and Wales, the three classes of Dwelling Houses may be fairly represented by the formula—

60 per cent.	Small Houses (under £6 rent.)
15 ,,	Medium (£6 and under £10 rent.)
25 ,,	Large (£10 rent and above.)

I am also led to the conclusion, that of the occupiers of the Small Houses 20 *per cent.* are in effect released from direct assessment to the Poor Rate, for reasons implying poverty, and that the like remark applies to 10 *per cent.* of the occupiers of the Medium Houses.

But even when we have determined with some degree of success the relative proportions of the three kinds of Houses for the whole kingdom, there still remain many steps to be taken before we can ascertain the probable number of Votes which would be created at the present time by a suffrage extending to every adult male occupier of a Dwelling House, large or small. We know that the number of Inhabited Houses in England and Wales at the Census of 1851 was 3,278,000. But during the last eight years this Number has largely increased, and has increased much more rapidly in some Counties than in others. In Lancashire, for example, it is probable that the increase has been 25 or 30 *per cent.*, while in Suffolk the increase has probably not exceeded 4 *per cent.* Deductions also are required for female occupiers—for loss of Votes by reason of removal from one locality to another—for disqualification by pauperism, and from other causes.

It is obvious also, that the mere Occupation of Houses below 10*l.* would have far less effect in swelling the Registers in some Towns as compared with others, for the sufficient reason that in the one place the general range of Rents is so high that the Small Houses are but few; and in the other, that an opposite state of the facts produces a directly opposite result. Instances may be found in Marylebone and the Tower Hamlets; or in Cheltenham and Preston.

After spending some time in the search for a satisfactory mode of ascertaining, with a fair approach to accuracy, the present number of *Adult Male Occupiers* in the Groups of Counties and Boroughs adopted in these Papers, it occurred to me that in the absence of positive enumeration, the simplest plan would be to take the ascertained basis of the Inhabited Houses in 1851, and determine, by various tests, for the Counties and Boroughs in each Group the *Per Centage* proportions which indicate the *present* number of Male Occupiers *under 6*l.* rent* :—and *6*l.* and under 10*l.* rent*.

The result of these inquiries is contained in the following Table (F.)

I do not claim for the *Per Centages* in that Table more than approximate truth. It is impossible, in the absence of local returns in each case, that it can be more than approximatively accurate. But I have a strong opinion that it is free from extravagant errors, and that the results flowing from it may be safely accepted as the groundwork of the general arguments with which alone we are here concerned.

(F).—ENGLAND AND WALES, 1858.—*Counties and Parliamentary Boroughs therein*—MALE OCCUPIERS at Rents (1) under 6*l.*:—and (2) 6*l.* and under 10*l.*—COMPUTED PER CENTAGES on *Inhabited Houses* in 1851.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inhabited Houses, 1851.		GROUPS,	County Divisions, Male Occupiers, 1858.			Boroughs therein, Male Occupiers, 1858.		
Cos.	Bors.		Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	£10 and above.	Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	£10 and above.
No.	No.		Per Ct.	Per Ct.	Per Ct.	Per Ct.	Per Ct.	Per Ct.
46·4	....	(I.) METROPOLTN. 1 C.D.	20·	35·	80·	....	....	....
....	256·0	7 Bor.	....	....	....	30·	30·	55·
193·9	....	(II.) So.-Eastern....9 C.D.	50·	25·	45·	....	....	....
....	93·5	27 Bor.	....	....	....	54·	20·	31·
164·0	....	(III.) So.-Mdlnd....7 C.D.	60·	20·	28	....	....	....
....	36·5	15 Bor.	....	....	....	54·	20	31·
334·3	....	(IV.) Eastern.....12 C.D.	65·	15·	30·	....	....	....
....	82·0	19 Bor.	....	....	....	54·	20·	31·
256·4	....	(V.) So.-Western. .9 C.D.	65·	15·	28·	....	....	....
....	79·3	38 Bor.	....	....	....	55·	20·	33·
230·8	....	(VI.) Wst. Mdlnd.10 C.D.	60·	20	34·	....	....	....
....	129·8	26 Bor.	....	....	....	60·	15·	30·
158·6	....	(VII.) Midland.....8 C.D.	60·	20·	34·	....	....	....
....	100·4	8 Bor.	....	....	....	55·	20·	30·
370·9	....	(VIII.) No.-Wstn. 5 C.D.	60·	20·	35·	....	....	....
....	326·4	26 Bor.	....	....	....	65·	17·	26·
149·9	....	(IX.) Northern ....8 C.D.	60·	20·	37·	....	....	....
....	64·4	19 Bor.	....	....	....	65·	17·	31·
1905·2	1168·3		55·	20·	39·	....	....	....
			....	....	....	54·	20·	33·
82·7	....	(X.) South Wales .6 C.D.	65·	15·	38·	....	....	....
....	36·5	9 Bor.	....	....	....	65·	17·	25·
66·2	....	(XI.) North Wales. .6 C.D.	65·	15·	37·	....	....	....
....	18·3	5 Bor.	....	....	....	65·	17·	25·
2054·1	1223·1		57·	19·	39·	....	....	....
			....	....	....	56·	20·	31·

Note.—The 00's are omitted in Cols. 1 and 2. Thus, 2054·1 represents 2,054,100 Inhabited Houses in 1851.

The Table may be read thus:—In 1858 in the *South-Eastern* Group, the Male Occupiers of *Small Houses* (under 6*l.*) may be computed as being equal, in the *County Divisions*, to 50 *per cent.* of the 193,900 Inhabited Houses in 1851,—the *Medium* Occupiers to 25 *per cent.*,—and the *Large* Occupiers to 45 *per cent.* In the *Boroughs* of the same Group the *Small* Occupiers may be computed at 54 *per cent.*,—the *Medium* at 20 *per cent.*,—and the *Large* at 31 *per cent.*

VII.—*Effect of £10 County Franchise.*

We will proceed to the application of the results of this Table (F), after first considering some special questions relating to the Franchise for Counties.

The present Franchise for Counties arises under four heads, viz., from qualifications of the nature of Freehold—Copyhold—or Leasehold property, or from Occupation as Tenant.

The Freehold qualification is the *ownership* qualification established in the year 1430, by the statute 8 Henry VI., cap. 7, which requires that “the Knights of the Shires to be chosen to come to the Parliament of our Lord the King shall be chosen in every County” by Voters, “every one of whom shall have free land or tenement to the value of Forty Shillings by the year at least, above all charges.” And this qualification extends to Freeholders, *whether or not* the property be situate *within a Represented City or Borough*.

The County Votes, conferred by certain descriptions of Copyhold and Leasehold property, involve many specialties. The minimum annual value required in each class may be stated at 10*l.* The Occupation County Franchise was created by the Reform Bill, and includes all persons occupying premises of a *bonâ fide* yearly value of not less than 50*l.*, such premises *not* being situate within a represented City or Borough.

Proposals have been several times made for extending the County Franchise by reducing the Occupation County Qualification from a rent of 50*l.* to a rent of 10*l.* per annum,—still retaining the other three classes of County Votes arising from the ownership of Freeholds, Copyholds, or Leaseholds; and there has been considerable discussion as to the extent of the addition which would be made to the County Constituencies by the adoption of such a scheme.

The latest evidence on the subject is a Return obtained by Mr. Locke King last Session, (63/58) of the Number of Assessments to Poor Rate in 1855–6, in the several Parishes, &c., in each County Division of England and Wales. The Return also includes a Col. of the County Votes in these Parishes, &c., on the Register of 1857–8; but that Col. does *not* include the County Votes, (mostly Freeholds) conferred by property *within* represented Cities and Boroughs; and this omission is to be regretted. A Return obtained by Lord Aveland in 1857 (214/57) enables us fortunately to supply this further information; and in the following Table (G),—which presents the results of Mr. Locke King’s Return,—a Col. (6) will be found supplying the Votes *within* Parliamentary places in the several Groups.

(G.)—COUNTY VOTES.—*England and Wales, 1855-6.—Results of Mr. Locke King's Return, 63/58, intended to show the Addition which would be made to County Constituencies by a £10 Occupation County Suffrage, retaining also the present 40s. Freehold County Votes.—With a Col. (7) obtained from Lord Aveland's Return 214/57 of the County Votes (40s.) within represented Cities and Boroughs.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
COUNTY DIVISIONS IN GROUPS.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	County Electors, 1855-6.					Votes on County Register, '57-8.	Difference of cols. 7 and 8.
		Persons Rated in County Dvns., ex-represented Cities and Boros.			Freehold Votes as Owners in Represented Cities and Boros.	Totals of Cols. 5 and 6.		
		£10 and under £50.	£50 and above.	Total.				
(I.) METROPOLN. 1 C. D.	No. 2	No. 23,100	No. 6,500	No. 29,600	No. 8,000	No. 37,600	No. 15,000	No. 22,600
(II.) SO.-ESTN. 9 ,,	17	51,500	19,500	71,000	16,600	87,600	47,900	39,700
(III.) SO.-MIDLD. 7 ,,	18	25,300	15,000	40,300	5,800	46,100	34,100	12,000
(IV.) EASTERN 12 ,,	25	58,800	35,700	94,500	6,700	101,200	75,800	25,400
(V.) SO.-WSTN. 9 ,,	19	40,400	24,600	65,000	7,200	72,200	59,300	12,900
(VI.) WEST.-MID. 10 ,,	21	45,400	22,600	68,000	9,800	77,800	68,000	9,800
(VII.) MIDLAND 8 ,,	16	30,200	14,200	44,400	8,600	53,000	40,000	13,000
(VIII.) NO.-WSTN. 5 ,,	10	76,100	29,100	105,200	25,800	131,000	83,700	47,300
(IX.) NORTHERN 8 ,,	16	30,600	18,100	48,700	7,500	56,200	46,700	9,500
	144	381,400	185,300	566,700	96,000	662,700	470,500	192,200
(X.) SO. WALES 6 ,,	8	19,100	6,600	25,700	3,400	29,100	20,500	8,600
(XI.) NO. WALES 6 ,,	7	17,100	6,500	23,600	1,800	25,400	15,800	9,600
	159	417,600	198,400	616,000	101,200	717,200	506,800	210,400

The general result of this Table (G) is, that a 10*l.* Occupation County Franchise—retaining the present Freehold, Copyhold, and Leasehold Franchises—would increase the County Constituencies in England and Wales from 507,000 Votes to 717,000 Votes, or to the extent of 42 *per cent.* But this result requires to be largely modified. For (1) many of the 101,200 owners of Freeholds in Boroughs will be persons who are included in the 616,000 occupiers in County Parishes;—(2) many of the 417,600 Occupiers at 10*l.* and under 50*l.* will be already on the Register as Freeholders in County Parishes. The general total, therefore, of 717,200 necessarily includes a large

proportion of duplicate Votes. I confess that I have no ascertained data which would enable me to make the needful correction. A conjecture, perhaps, may be formed that the correction should be at least 15 per cent. The comparison would then be between (say)—

507,000	County Votes at present.
610,000	„ as proposed.
<hr/>	
103,000	Increase 20 per cent.

The distribution of this large increase, as may be traced in Col. 9, would be very irregular. Nearly half of it would be absorbed in the South-Eastern and North-Western Groups.

VIII.—*Adult Male Occupiers, 1857-8. Existing County Divisions.*

We may now apply the Per Centages in Table (F) with a view to ascertain, as far as our means will permit, the effect upon the present County and Borough Constituencies of extending the right of Voting to Adult Male Occupiers of *all* Dwellings, without regard to annual value,—still, however, distinguishing the Dwellings under 6*l.*, and 6*l.* and under 10*l.*

The following Table (H) gives the figures for the Counties. The County Divisions composing the several Groups are enumerated:—

(H.)—COUNTY CONSTITUENCIES.—ENGLAND AND WALES, 1857-8.—*Abstract of ESTIMATED ADDITIONS which would be made to Votes by a COUNTY FRANCHISE of (1) under £6, (2) £6 and under £10, and (3) £10 and above, with the present Constituencies, in 1856-7.—Retaining also the present 40s. Qualification for Counties in respect of Property situate in any part of the County.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhbd. Houses, 1851.	GROUPS OF COUNTY DIVISIONS.	Mem- bers.	Computed Proportion of Male Occupiers at Rents as under—1857-58.			Computed further Addition to be made by a £10 and 40s. County Franchise, '56-7.	Electors on Register, '57-8.
No.			Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	Total.	No.	No.
46,4	(I.) METROPOLITAN. { Middlesex, including Chel- sea, &c. }	2	9,200	16,200	25,400	37,600	15,000
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
193,9	(II.) SOUTH-EASTERN. { Kent, E. & W.; Surrey, E. & W.; Sussex, E. & W.; Hants, N. & S.; I. of Wt. }	17	96,000	48,000	144,000	87,600	47,900
164,0	(III.) SOUTH MIDLAND. { Berks, Herts, Bucks, Oxon, Northampton, N. & S.; Beds }	18	98,000	32,800	130,800	46,100	34,100
334,3	(IV.) EASTERN. { Hunts, Camb., Essex, N. & S.; Norfolk, E. & W.; Suffolk, E. & W.; Rut- land, Lincoln, & York, E. }	25	217,000	50,100	267,100	101,200	75,800
256,4	(V.) SOUTH-WESTERN. { Wilts, N. & S.; Dorset, Devon, N. & S.; Corn- wall, E. & W.; Somerset, E. & W. }	19	167,000	38,400	205,400	72,200	59,300
230,8	(VI.) WEST MIDLAND. { Gloucester, E. & W.; Here- ford, Salop, N. & S.; Stafford, N. & S.; Wor- cester, E. & W.; Mon- mouth }	21	138,000	46,000	184,000	77,800	68,000
985,5		83	620,000	167,300	787,300	297,000	237,200

(H.)—COUNTY CONSTITUENCIES—*Contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhbdtd, Houses, 1851.	GROUPS OF COUNTY DIVISIONS.	Mem- bers.	Computed Proportion of Male Occupiers at Rents as under—1857-58.			Computed further Addition to be made by a £10 and 40s. County Franchise, 56-7.	Electors on Register, 57-8.
No.			Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	Total.	No.	No.
	(VII.) MIDLAND.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
158,6	{ Warwick, N. & S.; Leices- ter, N. & S.; Derby, N. & S.; Notts, N. & S. }	16	94,000	31,000	125,000	53,000	39,800
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	(VIII.) NORTH-WESTERN.						
370,9	{ Chester, N. & S.; Lancas- ter, N. & S.; York, W. }	10	222,000	74,000	296,000	131,000	79,200
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	(IX.) NORTHERN.						
149,9	{ Durham, N. & S.; North- umberland, N. & S.; Cumberland, E. & W.; Westmorland, York, N. R. }	16	90,000	30,000	120,000	56,200	46,700
1905,2		144	1,131,200	366,000	1,497,200	662,700	465,800
	(X.) SOUTH WALES.						
82,7	{ Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Brecknock, Radnor }	8	53,700	12,400	66,100	29,100	20,500
	(XI.) NORTH WALES.						
66,2	{ Montgomery, Flintsh., Den- bigh, Merioneth, Car- narvon, Anglesea }	7	43,000	10,000	53,000	25,400	15,800
148,9		15	96,700	22,400	119,100	54,500	36,300
2054,1		159	1,227,900	388,400	1,616,300	717,200	502,100

Note.—This Table may be read thus : In the Counties in the *South-Eastern* Group a Suffrage extending to Adult Male Occupiers of Dwellings under 6*l.* annual value would give 96,000 County Votes :—extending to dwellings of 6*l.* and under 10*l.*, would give 48,000 County Votes,—or a total of 144,000 Votes. Further, a County Franchise of 10*l.* Occupation, retaining the present Freehold, Copyhold, and Leasehold Qualification, would give 87,600 Votes. A mere Household Suffrage, therefore, would give (144 + 87,600) 231,600 Votes, or nearly five times the present Constituency of 47,900 Votes. Some reduction, however, would be required in the 87,600 Votes, for the reasons stated at page 112.

In Col. 1, 46,4 represents 46,400 Inhabited Houses.

In dealing with this Table (H) we will, for simplicity, assume that as suggested above (page 113) the 717,000 (col. 7) should be 610,000. The general results taking the County Divisions of England and Wales as they are at present arranged, will be as follows:—

(I.)	County Constituency.	Votes.	Rates of Increase.
	Present Constituency gives	502,000	—
	£10 County Qualification would give (<i>say</i>)	610,000	1 to 1·2
	£6 „ „	998,000	1 „ 2·0
	Mere Occupation	2,225,000	1 „ 4·5

It appears from the Table (cols. 4 and 5), that the *Medium* Qualification (6*l.* and under 10*l.*) would in several of the Groups *double* the present County Constituencies. In the four leading Agricultural Groups however the effect would fall considerably short of doubling.

The *Small* (or mere occupation) qualifications on the other hand would produce the greatest changes in the Agricultural Groups. In those Groups the Small Votes (that is under 6*l.*) would of themselves constitute an extension of the County Suffrage not far short of *three* times the present County Constituencies,—and the same observation applies to the North-Western (or Lancashire and Yorkshire) Group.

IX.—*Adult Male Occupiers*, 1857-58:—*Existing Boroughs*.

The next Table (K) applies the Per Centages of (F) to the present Groups of Boroughs.

BOROUGH CONSTITUENCIES.—*England and Wales, 1857-8.—Abstract of Estimated Additions which would be made to Votes by a Borough Franchise of—(1) under £6,—(2) £6 and under £10,—and (3) £10 and above.—With the present Constituencies in 1856-7.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	GROUPS OF COUNTY DIVISIONS.	Present Membrs.	Computed Proportion of Male Occupiers at Rents as under—'57-8.			Electors on Register, '56-7.
No.		No.	Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	Total.	No.
256,0	(I.) METROPOLITAN. 7 Boros.	16	76,000	76,000	152,000	132,000
93,5	(II.) SO.-EASTERN. 27 Boros.	45	50,500	18,600	69,100	39,000
36,5	(III.) SO.-MIDLAND. 15 Boros.	26	19,700	7,300	27,000	12,600
82,0	(IV.) EASTERN. 19 Boros.	36	44,200	16,000	60,200	27,700
79,3	(V.) SO.-WESTERN. 38 Boros.	62	43,600	16,000	59,600	26,800
129,8	(VI.) WEST MIDLAND. 26 Boros.	45	77,800	19,500	97,300	40,200
327,6		169	185,300	58,800	244,100	107,300
100,4	(VII.) MIDLAND. 8 Boros.	16	55,200	20,000	75,200	30,500
326,4	(VIII.) NO.-WESTERN. 26 Boros.	44	212,000	55,400	267,400	86,700
64,4	(IX.) NORTHERN. 19 Boros.	29	41,600	11,000	52,600	23,700
1,168,3		319	620,600	239,800	860,400	419,200
36,5	(X.) SOUTH WALES. 9 Boros.	9	23,400	6,100	29,500	8,800
18,3	(XI.) NORTH WALES. 5 Boros.	5	12,000	3,100	15,100	4,000
54,8		14	35,400	9,200	44,600	12,800
1,223,1		333	656,000	249,000	905,000	432,000

Note.—The 432,000 Electors (Col. 7), 1856-7, include (say) 50,000 *old Suffrage* Votes of Freemen, &c., and the greater part of those 50,000 Freemen will be included in the Cols. 4 and 5 as Occupiers *below* £10. It will, perhaps, be near the truth to say, that in order to allow for these 50,000 Freemen the total of Col. 4 should be (say) 626,000 (instead of 656,000), and that the total of Col. 5 should be 229,000 (instead of 249,000).

The results of this Table (K) as corrected in the note at foot of it, and taking the Boroughs of England and Wales as they stand at present, are as follows :—

(L.)	Borough Constituency.	Votes.	Rates of Increase.
	Present £10 Occupation	432,000	—
	A £6 Borough Qualification would give....	661,000	1 to 1·5
	A mere Occupation Qualification.....	1,287,000	1,, 3·2

The *Medium* Qualification (6*l.* and under 10*l.*), would increase the present Borough Constituencies about *one-half*—but with many irregularities.

The *Small* Qualification (under 6*l.*) would *of itself* increase the present Borough Constituencies about 1½ times in the North-Western Group however, the increase would be equal to nearly 2½ times the present constituency.

Combining the results of these Tables as regards Counties and Boroughs, and introducing such further corrections as have suggested themselves in the course of these protracted investigations, I am led to adopt the following statement (M) as a fair approach to the truth ; it is a statement from which I can honestly say that I have sought to remove exaggerations whether on one side or the other.

(M.)—*General (Computed) Results.—England and Wales, 1858.—Present Electoral Arrangements.*

Constituency.	Counties.—Votes.	Boroughs.—Votes.	Total.—Votes.
(A.) Present Constituencies	502,000	432,000	934,000
(B.) £10 Occupation in Counties	610,000	432,000	1,042,000
(C.) £6 Occupation	900,000	600,000	1,500,000
(D.) Occupation merely.....	1,780,000	1,030,000	2,810,000

X.—*Metropolis and Twenty Large Towns.*

The two following Tables (N) and (O) will indicate the extent to which the Metropolis and Twenty of the Largest Towns would contribute towards the total Borough Constituencies stated above.

An outline is given in Appendix (I) of the Manchester Overseers' Local Act of 1858 (21 and 22 Vict., cap. 62), under which the power to make compositions under the Small Tenement Rating Act of 1850, is extended from 6*l.* to 10*l.*, but in all cases of composition, the tenements included in it are *deprived* of the municipal franchise. Under the Corporation Reform Act of 1835, the municipal franchise is acquired by simple rating and occupation without reference to rent ; the Manchester Local Act of last year, however, will in effect, in a great mass of cases establish a Municipal Qualification of 10*l.* rating.

(N.)—METROPOLITAN BOROUGH—1856-7.—*Present Parliamentary Electors, and MALE OCCUPIERS, (computed) under 10l.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Income Tax, (A.) (B.) (D.)	Inhbtd. Houses, '51.	METROPOLITAN BOROUGH.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, '56-7.	Male Occupiers, '56-7, (Estimated) as under.				Members Proposed.	
					Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	Total.	General Total, (Cols. 5 & 8.)	Scheme, '54.	Bright, '59.
£ Mins.	No.			No.	No.	No.	No.	No.		
15 '6	14 '6	London City ...	4	19,100	4,400	4,400	8,800	27,900	4	4
6 '3	24 '7	Westmins. City	2	13,200	7,400	7,400	14,800	28,000	2	4
4 '3	37 '4	*Finsbury	2	20,600	11,100	11,100	22,200	42,800	2	6
4 '8	40 '5	*Marylebone ...	2	20,800	12,000	12,000	24,000	44,800	2	6
3 '7	76 '0	*Tw. Hamlets .	2	28,000	23,000	23,000	46,000	74,800	2	8
2 '0	39 '1	*Lambeth	2	20,300	12,000	12,000	24,000	44,300	2	4
1 '7	23 '7	Southwark	2	10,200	7,000	7,000	14,000	24,200	2	4
38 '4	256 '0		16	132,200	76,900	76,900	153,800	286,000	16	36
2 '0	34 '6	{Chelsea .....	....	19,000	10,400	10,400	20,800	39,800	2	4
		{Kensington ...}								
40 '4	290 '6		16	151,200	87,300	87,300	174,600	325,800	18	40

Note.—The 19,000 in Col. 5 opposite Chelsea and Kensington is, of course, an estimate.

(O.)—ENGLAND AND WALES.—TWENTY LARGE TOWNS—1857-8.—*Present Parliamentary Electors, and MALE OCCUPIERS (computed) under 10l.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Income Tax, (A.) (B.) (D.)	Inhbtd. Houses, '51.	TWENTY LARGE TOWNS.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, '56-7.	Male Occupiers, '56-7, (Estimated) as under.				Members Proposed.	
					Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	Total.	General Total, (Cols. 5 & 8.)	Scheme, '54.	Bright, '59.
£ Mins.	No.			No.	No.	No.	No.	No.		
4 '77	53 '2	Manchester	2	18,000	31,800	10,600	42,400	62,400	3	6
'58	15 '3	Salford	1	4,000	9,300	3,100	12,400	16,400	2	3
'34	13 '6	Oldham	2	2,100	8,100	2,700	10,800	12,900	2	3
'54	11 '4	Preston	2	2,800	6,900	2,300	9,200	12,000	2	3
6 '23	93 '5		7	26,900	56,100	18,700	74,800	101,700	9	15
(II.)										
1 '49	36 '1	Leeds	2	6,200	21,600	7,200	28,800	35,000	3	4
'90	19 '0	Bradford	2	3,300	11,400	3,800	15,200	18,500	3	3
'36	6 '5	Halifax	2	1,500	3,900	1,300	5,200	6,700	2	2
'39	5 '7	Huddersfield ...	1	1,500	3,400	1,100	4,500	6,000	1	2
3 '14	67 '3		7	12,500	40,300	13,400	53,700	66,200	9	11

(O).—ENGLAND AND WALES.—TWENTY LARGE TOWNS—*Contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Income Tax, (A.) (B.) (D.)	Inhabtd. Houses, '51. £ Mins.	TWENTY LARGE TOWNS. (III.)	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, '56-7. No.	Male Occupiers, '56-7, (Estimated) as under.				Members Proposed.	
					Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	Total.	General Total. (Cols. 5 & 8.)	Scheme, '54.	Bright, '59.
2'49	45'8	Birmingham	2	9,100	27,600	9,200	36,800	45,900	3	4
1'14	27'0	Sheffield	2	6,900	16,200	5,400	21,600	28,500	3	4
'92	22'3	Wolverhampton ..	2	3,600	13,200	4,400	17,600	21,200	3	3
1'05	10'4	Newcastle	2	6,000	6,300	2,100	8,400	14,400	2	3
5'60	105'5		8	25,600	63,300	21,100	84,400	110,000	11	14
		(IV.)								
'77	11'5	Nottingham	2	5,600	6,900	2,300	9,200	14,800	2	3
'55	15'0	Norwich	2	6,200	9,000	3,000	12,000	18,200	2	3
1'32	26'5		4	11,800	15,900	5,300	21,200	33,000	4	6
		(V.)								
7'05	54'3	Liverpool	2	18,300	32,400	10,800	43,200	61,500	3	6
1'81	20'9	Bristol	2	12,600	12,600	4,200	16,800	29,400	3	4
1'05	16'6	Hull	2	5,500	9,900	3,300	13,200	18,700	2	3
'22	5'0	Devonport	2	2,600	3,000	1,000	4,000	6,600	2	2
'36	5'7	Southampton	2	3,500	3,300	1,100	4,400	7,900	2	2
10'49	102'5		10	42,500	61,200	20,400	81,600	124,100	12	17
		(VI.)								
'89	10'8	Brighton.....	2	3,900	6,300	2,100	8,400	12,300	2	3
27'67	406'1		38	122,700	243,100	81,000	324,100	447,100	47	66

The number of Members at *present* returned for the Metropolitan Boroughs (Table N) and the Twenty large Towns (Table O) is 54. Under the Scheme of 1854, the number was proposed to be raised to 65, and by Mr. Bright to 106.

If we work out the *proportion* of the *total* representation of England and Wales (492 Members), attaching to these two leading Groups, on the four bases of—(1) the existing Suffrage; (2) a *6l.* Suffrage; (3) an Occupation Suffrage; and (4) the Inhabited Houses in 1851; we shall arrive at results differing largely from each other, thus:—

(o.)—METROPOLITAN BOROUGHs and TWENTY LARGE TOWNS—PROPORTIONS OF REPRESENTATION *applicable to them under arrangements as follows:—*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inc. Tax. (A.) (B.) (D.)	GROUPS, &c.	Present Members.	Present Total Constancy.	£6 Suffrage.	Occuptn. Suffrage.	Inhabtd. Houses, '51.
£ 208·5	ENGLAND & WALES.	No. 492	No. 934,	No. 1,500,	No. 2,810,	No. 3,278,
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
40·4	Metropolitan Boroughs	16	151,	238,	326,	290,
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27·7	Twenty Large Towns....	38	123,	204,	447,	406,
<hr/>						
Members.	<i>Members in proportion to Cols., 1, 4, 5, 6, 7.</i>	Members.	Members.	Members.	Members.	Members.
98	Metropolitan Boroughs	16	80	80	57	57
64	Twenty Large Towns....	38	64	67	78	61
162		54	144	147	135	118

Note.—This Table may be read as follows:—At present the Metropolitan Boroughs (Table N) have 16 Members. Those 16 Members would become 98 upon the *proportionate* basis of Income Tax—would become 80 according to the Metropolitan *proportion* of the *present* Constituencies of England and Wales—and would be 80 under a 6*l.* Suffrage—would be 57 under a mere Occupation Suffrage—and would be 57 on the basis of the Inhabited Houses 1851.

According to the Income Tax basis, the Metropolitan Boroughs would have 98 Members, but that result would require some correction for the reasons stated in Appendix (II), and the Large Towns would have 64 Members. Under the *existing* Constituency of England and Wales, the rateable proportion of Members to the Metropolis would be 80, or exactly *five* times the present representation, and to the Large Towns, 64, or nearly *twice* the present representation.

I have already exhibited in a former Table (B) the general results of the discussion in Appendix (II) of the evidence available as regards the Territorial distribution of property in Counties and Boroughs, as indicated by the amounts of income assessed under the three leading Schedules (A), (B), and (D) of the Income Tax Act.

The following Table (P) gives the distribution in the County Divisions and Boroughs of the Eleven Groups; and in Cols. 7 and 9 the total amounts of Income are reduced to the Average amount of Income which may be said to be represented by each Member according to the *existing* state of the representation.

Taking the whole of England and Wales, the average amounts of Income to each Member are :—

County Divisions £730,000 per Member.

Boroughs 280,000 „

or the Counties are nearly *three* times the amounts which apply to the Boroughs.

The inferior results as regards the Boroughs, arises chiefly in the Four Agricultural Groups. For the whole of these *four* Groups the Borough result for the 98 Boroughs sending 169 Members, is only 100,000*l.*—against 740,000*l.* for the County Divisions. In the *South-Western* Group the 38 Boroughs therein, returning 62 Members, give a result of only 70,000*l.* average Income, against 750,000*l.*

XI.—*Distribution of Property.—Existing Counties and Boroughs.*

(P.)—*England and Wales.—INCOME Tax assessed on Sums as under;—1856-7.—Groups of Counties and Boroughs therein.—With AVERAGE assessment per MEMBER.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Electors. '56-7.		GROUPS.	Present Members.		Income Tax, '56-7.—Assessed on as under.			
County Divisns.	Boros.		County Divisns.	Boros.	County Divisions.		Boroughs therein.	
					Total. (A) (B) (D).	Average per Member.	Total. (A) (B) (D).	Average per Member.
		(I.) METROPOLN.	No.	No.	£	£	£	£
15,0	....	1 Co. Div.	2	....	2,710,000	1,350,000	....	....
....	....	7 Boros. ....	....	16	....	....	38,590,000	2,410,000
		(II.) SO.-EASTN.						
42,9	....	9 Co. Divs.	17	....	11,690,000	690,000	....	....
....	38,7	27 Boros. ....	....	45	....	....	4,930,000	110,000
		(III.) SO.-MIDL.						
34,1	....	7 Co. Divs.	18	....	9,680,000	540,000	....	....
....	12,6	15 Boros. ....	....	26	....	....	1,890,000	70,000
		(IV.) EASTERN.						
75,8	....	12 Co. Divs.	25	....	24,260,000	2,020,000	....	....
....	27,7	19 Boros. ....	....	36	....	....	3,960,000	210,000
		(V.) SO.-WESTN.						
59,3	....	8 Co. Divs.	19	....	14,300,000	750,000	....	....
....	26,8	38 Boros. ....	....	62	....	....	4,160,000	70,000
		(VI.) WST.-MIDL.						
68,0	....	10 Co. Divs.	21	....	13,910,000	666,000	....	....
....	40,2	26 Boros. ....	....	45	....	....	6,730,000	150,000
237,2	....		83	....	62,150,000	740,000	....	....
....	107,3		....	169	....	....	16,740,000	100,000

(P).—*England and Wales*—INCOME TAX, &c.—*contd.*

1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9	
Electors.		GROUPS.		Present		Income Tax, '56-7.—Assessed on as under.											
'56-7.				Members.		County Divisions.				Boroughs therein.							
County Divisns.	Boros.			County Divisns.	Boros.	Total (A) (B) (D).	Average per Member.	Total. (A) (B) (D).	Average per Member.								
		(VII.) MIDLAND.		No.	No.	£	£	£	£								
39,8	....	8 Co. Divs.	16	....	....	8,740,000	550,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	30,5	8 Boros. ....	....	....	16	....	....	5,250,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	333,000	....
		(VIII.) NO.-WSTN.															
79,1	....	5 Co. Divs.	10	....	....	16,210,000	1,620,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	86,8	26 Boros. ....	....	....	44	....	....	20,910,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	470,000	....
		(IX.) NORTHERN.															
46,7	....	8 Co. Divs.	16	....	....	8,950,000	560,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	23,7	19 Boros. ....	....	....	29	....	....	3,840,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	130,000	....
465,7	....		144	....	....	110,450,000	760,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	419,2		....	....	319	....	....	90,260,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	280,000	....
		(X.) SO. WALES.															
20,4	....	6 Co. Divs.	8	....	....	3,040,000	380,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	8,8	9 Boros. ....	....	....	9	....	....	1,410,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	160,000	....
		(XI.) NO. WALES.															
15,8	....	6 Co. Divs.	7	....	....	2,900,000	410,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	4,0	5 Boros. ....	....	....	5	....	....	520,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100,000	....
501,9	....		159	....	....	116,390,000	730,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	432,0		....	....	333	....	....	92,190,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	280,000	....

Note.—In cols. 1 and 2 the 00's are omitted—thus 501.9 represents 501,900 Electors.

The Table may be read thus:—In the whole of England and Wales in 56-7 the total amount of Income assessed under Schedules (A), (B), (D), was in *Counties* 116,390,000*l.* in (col. 6), giving an average assessment on the 159 County Members of 730,000*l.* (col. 7).

average Income for the 9 County Divisions returning 19 Members. In these four Groups the disproportion of *total* Income between the Counties and Boroughs is very striking, thus:—

Four Agricultural Groups.—County Divisions 62 Millions of *Total* Income.

„ Boroughs 17 „

It is not surprising therefore, that in all Schemes of Electoral Revision by far the largest number of disfranchisements are proposed to be effected in the region of these Four Groups of Counties. In the Scheme of 1854, for example, it was proposed to *withdraw* 44 from the present 169 *Borough* Members, and to *increase* the present 83 *County* Members to 105. Even a re-arrangement of this kind would still leave a very great disproportion between the Boroughs

and County Divisions, so far as concerns the amount of property indicated by Income Tax :—a disproportion not less than the difference between an average of 135,000*l.* Income Tax Assessment to each Borough Member, against a similar average of 600,000*l.* to each County Member ;—in other words, the property in the County Divisions of the Four Groups would be still more than four times as great as in the Boroughs of the same Groups. If the attention be merely confined to the facts exhibited on the face of Table (P), the four following conclusions are manifest, viz. :—(1) That in all the Eleven Groups the proportion of property to Members is far greater in the County Divisions than in the Boroughs. (2) That this state of things prevails in the most startling degree in the Great Agricultural Region. (3) That the more manifest discrepancies can only be lessened by a transfer of some of the Borough Seats of the Agricultural Region to the Midland and Northern Counties,—by re-arrangements and regroupings of Boroughs and Smaller Towns,—and by some increase of the present County Representation.

XII.—*Existing Suffrages.*

In Appendix (III), a statement will be found of the nature of the Suffrages at present existing for the Election of Poor Law Guardians and Members of Local Boards of Health ; and in Appendix (I) (page 132, *seq.*) a statement of the qualifications attached to the Municipal Occupancy Suffrage.

As the law at present stands there are six principal kinds of Suffrage in force, for the purpose of electing Members of the Legislature, or Members of Municipal Corporations, or of Boards of Poor Law Guardians, or of Local Boards of Health, viz. :—

- (1.) The County Franchise for the election by open voting of County Members of Parliament, under the Reform Act of 1832, requiring residence for a year prior to a given date, and a minimum *Property* Qualification of a 40*s.* freehold ;—or a minimum *Occupation* Qualification of 50*l.* rent, with payment of rates.
- (2.) The Borough Franchise requiring the same residence and a minimum *Occupation* Qualification of 10*l.* rent, with payment of rates. There are also the Freemen Voters in course of extinction.
- (3.) The Municipal Franchise for the Election by open voting of Members of Town Councils requiring a *three* years' Occupation, residence, and payment of rates.
- (4.) The Poor Law Suffrage for the Election (by Voting Papers) of Boards of Guardians for management of the Poor and Poor Rate, under the Act of 1835, requiring rating for a year ; and giving *Cumulative* Votes according to the value

of the assessment upon which the rate is paid ; the highest number of Votes being six.

- (5.) The Local Board of Health Suffrage for the Election (by Voting Papers) under the Public Health Act of 1848, enlarged and confirmed by the Local Government Act of 1858, of Members of Local Boards of Health exercising large powers. This Suffrage corresponds precisely with the Poor Law Suffrage.
- (6.) The Parish Vestry Suffrage under the Act of 1818 (Sturges Bourne's Act), for the control of Parishes :—requiring rating, but not *also* residence, and giving *Cumulative* Votes according to the assessment,—the highest number of Votes being *six*.
- (7.) The Suffrage arising under the Vestry Act of 1831 (1 and 2 Wm. IV., cap. 60). Under this Act Parishes, &c., in England and Wales, having *more than* 800 rated householders (or say 3,000 population), may, under certain conditions, determine to place themselves under an Elected Vestry, and when it is so determined, the Members of the Vestry are to be elected by persons who have resided and paid rates for the year preceding, but no voter is to have more than *one* vote. The Vestries or District Boards under the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, are elected by the Ratepayers upon a similar basis.

As regards payment of Rates, it is explained in Appendix (I), that the Small Tenement Rating Act of 1850, was passed in order to meet the evils arising out of the absolute impossibility of collecting rates from the class of occupiers under 6*l.*, and that the consequent compositions by Landlords extend to quite 30 *per cent.* of the total number of assessments under 6*l.* It is also explained in the same Appendix, that, the Local Authorities of Manchester obtained last year (1858), a Special Act of Parliament authorizing them to extend to 10*l.* the Composition limit of 6*l.*, as defined in the General Statute of 1850, and also authorizing a considerable curtailment at Manchester of the Municipal Occupation Franchise.

The Poor Law Constituencies created under the Poor Law Suffrage do not exceed the Parliamentary Constituencies, there is good reason to believe (see Appendix III), by more than, say 10 *per cent.*, taking the whole of England and Wales.

But while the Open Voting at Parliamentary Elections brings not more than 50 or 60 *per cent.* of the Registered Votes to the Poll, the system of Voting Papers (see Appendix III) brings to the Poll 80 or 90 *per cent.* of the Votes.

It appears also (Appendix V) from the results of the General Elections in Prussia in November 1858, that of the most numerous class of Voters, the proportion Polled is little more than 20 *per cent.*

It will be convenient to add here an outline of the Scheme of

Franchises proposed by Lord John Russell, in the Bill introduced by him on 13th February, 1854.

- (1.) *As regards Counties.*—(a) The present *Ownership* Qualifications of Freehold, Copyhold, and Leasehold Property, to remain as they are.

(b) The Occupation County Suffrage to be reduced from 50*l.* to 10*l.* rent, subject to an occupation and rating for a year prior to 31st July, and further subject to *actual residence* within the County for six months prior to that day; and also subject to any Building *other than* a Dwelling House held with any land being of the minimum annual value of 5*l.**

(c) The present law making registration conditional, on payment of Rates up to a certain date, largely modified.

- (2.) *As regards Boroughs.*—(d) The present Occupation Suffrage of 10*l.* reduced to 6*l.*, subject to rating and residence for 2½ years prior to the 31st July. The present residence being *one* year.

(e) Discontinuance for the future of all Freemen and Burgess Votes, saving present rights.

(f) Same modification of Rate Paying clauses as in Counties.

- (3.) *New Suffrages for Counties and Boroughs.*—(g) Persons in receipt of Salaries from public or private employment, or of Pensions, of not less than 100*l.* payable *quarterly* or *half-yearly*, subject to a year's residence.

(h) Persons in receipt of 10*l.* per annum, derived from Government, or Bank, or India Stock.

(i) Persons paying 40*s.* per annum, to Income or Assessed Taxes.

(k) Graduates of any University in the United Kingdom.

(l) Depositors for *three* years of not less than 50*l.* in any Savings' Bank.

- (4.) *Minority Representation.*—(m) In all cases where *three* Members to be returnable, no elector to vote for more than *two*.

XIII.—*Schemes of 1854 and 1859 for Re-distribution of Seats.*

It is no part of the plan of these Papers to discuss the merits or defects of any suggested Schemes of Electoral Revision, I confine myself strictly to the province of exhibiting impartially the existing facts. It is, however, not inconsistent with this view, to present a statement according to the Territorial Groups of Counties of the changes proposed in the two conspicuous instances of the Bill of

* The meaning of this provision seems to be, that it should not be possible to create votes by letting off lands into small patches and merely placing a shed or a stable on the patch let off.

1854, and the Scheme announced by Mr. Bright, in January of the present year (1859).

The following Table (Q) is an abstract of the more extensive Table (AA) in Appendix (IV). I have not followed either of the Schemes, further than the changes proposed in England and Wales. The modifications actually effected by the Legislative measure of 1832, may be referred to for comparison. In 1832, in 1854, and 1859, the great region of the Borough Seats actually withdrawn, or proposed to be withdrawn, is the area which composes the Four Agricultural Groups.

(Q.)—ENGLAND AND WALES.—*Counties and Boroughs*—THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS (1) *as accomplished by Reform Act of 1832*—(2) *As Proposed Scheme of 1854*—(3) *As proposed by Mr. Bright in 1859 (for details see App. IV).*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Reform Act, '32.				GROUPS.	Withdrawals.				Assignments.			
Withdrawals.		Assignments.			Scheme, '54.		Bright, '59.		Scheme, '54.		Bright, '59.	
C. D.	Boros.	C. D.	Boros.		C. D.	Boros.	C. D.	Boros.	C. D.	Boros.	C. D.	Boros.
	No.	No.	No.	(I.) Metropolitan ...	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
....	....	....	8	(II.) So.-Eastern ....	....	....	....	....	1	5	....	24
....	36	9	5	(III.) So.-Midland .	....	10	....	18	5	....	1	5
....	10	6	....	(IV.) Eastern.....	....	6	....	12	1	....	....	....
....	12	10	....	(V.) So.-Western ....	....	7	....	13	9	....	4	2
....	67	9	3	(VI.) West.-Mdlnd .	....	22	....	38	6	....	....	1
....	5	9	10	....	9	....	20	6	2	1	8	....
....	94	34	13	....	44	....	83	22	2	5	11	....
....	....	8	2	(VII.) Midland .....	....	....	....	2	3	1	....	5
....	3	4	27	(VIII.) No.-Wstrn.	....	3	....	5	11	9	7	25
....	9	7	8	(IX.) Northern .....	....	5	....	11	3	....	1	5
....	142	62	63	....	62	....	119	45	17	14	75	....
....	....	2	1	(X.) South Wales ....	....	....	....	2	1	....	....	3
....	....	1	....	(XI.) North Wales....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	142	65	64	....	62	....	121	46	17	14	78	....

XIV.—Conclusions.

The following Conclusions, among others, seem to be justified by the preceding statements and facts, viz. :—

1. That in England and Wales at the present time (1859), the Number of *Adult Males* (21 and upwards), may be taken approximately at 5,000,000, or rather more than *one-fourth* of the total population :—and the number of *Inhabited Houses* at 3,600,000.

2. That the present total Constituency in Counties and Boroughs, may be taken at 942,000 Votes, and stating the proportionate results in the most general form, and without reference to obvious corrections, the existing franchise may be said to be equal to 1 *Vote* to 5·3 *Adult Males* ; and 1 *vote* to 3·8 *Inhabited Houses*.

3. That of the whole number of Inhabited Houses, 60 *per cent.* may be considered as worth less than 6*l.* per annum :—15 *per cent.* as 6*l.* and under 10*l.* :—and 25 *per cent.*, as 10*l.* and above.

4. That as regards the Smallest Class of Houses (under 6*l.*), it was found necessary in 1850, to adopt a special law, authorizing Parish Authorities to assess the Poor and Highway Rate upon the *Owners* of such Houses, instead of the *Occupiers*.

5. That in 1858, the Parish Authorities of Manchester obtained a Local Act, enabling them to assess *Owners*, for Houses rated as high as within *Ten Pounds*.

6. That of the *Occupiers* of Houses under 6*l.*, 20 *per cent.* :—and of the *Occupiers* of Houses, 6*l.* and under 10*l.*, 10 *per cent.* :—may be regarded as released from local assessments, on grounds implying poverty.

7. That there is good reason to believe that at the present time, the Number of *Adult Male Occupiers* of Dwelling Houses in England and Wales, at rents “under 6*l.*,” is equal in the existing County Divisions to 57 *per cent.* of the total number of Inhabited Houses in 1851 in those Divisions ; and to 56 *per cent.* of the Inhabited Houses (in 1851), in the existing represented Boroughs :—That in like manner as regards rents “6*l.* and under 10*l.*,” the proportions are 19 *per cent.* in County Divisions, and 20 *per cent.* in Boroughs.

8. That converting these proportions, with various corrections, into approximate numbers, we may fairly conclude :—(1) that an Occupation Suffrage of “6*l.* and under 10*l.*,” would add to the present *County* Constituency of 502,000 Votes, a further number of 398,000 Votes (making 900,000) :—and to the present *Borough* Constituency of 432,000 Votes, a further number of 168,000 Votes (making 600,000).

9. That a “Mere Occupation” Suffrage would raise the present *County* Constituency to 1,780,000 Votes :—and the present *Borough*

Constituency, to 1,030,000 Votes :—or in effect would *increase* the *County and Borough* Constituencies to the extent of $2\frac{1}{2}$ times their present number..

10. That in order to arrive at any fair view of the relations existing between the present state of the Suffrage and Representation, and the leading territorial and industrial interests of the Country, it is indispensable that a Territorial arrangement of County Divisions and Boroughs therein should be adopted as the basis of all comparisons: and that without claiming for the Territorial arrangement employed in these Papers complete success, it may be safely affirmed that it is not open to serious objection.

11. That under a "Mere Occupation" Suffrage in *County* Divisions, the *largest* increase of Votes would take place in the Four Agricultural Groups of Counties: and that under the same Suffrage in *Boroughs*, the largest increase would take place in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

12. That an assignment of Seats, strictly in accordance with a Proportionate basis, would, under the Existing Borough Suffrage, raise the number of Metropolitan Members from 16 to 80:—and the number of Members for the Twenty Largest Towns, from 38 to 64, and under the two extended Suffrages the alterations would be still greater..

13. That the Returns of the amount of Income assessed under the three Schedules (A), (B), (D), may be regarded as the nearest practical approach to a correct statement of the Territorial Distribution of Property; subject, however, to the obvious corrections, that in the Largest Towns, (especially in London,) considerable deductions are required for the accidental assessment there of the *whole* mass of the Income from the Railways and Public Companies, the dividends provided by that Income being in point of fact, scattered all over the Country; subject also to the correction as regards *Property*, that the Income under the three Schedules could only be capitalised at very different numbers of years' purchase.

14. That in England and Wales the Total Income assessed in *County* Divisions, is 116 Millions sterling; against 92 Millions sterling, in *Boroughs*.

15. That comparing Income with Members, the proportion in *County* Divisions is 730,000*l.* Income to each Member:—and in *Boroughs* 280,000*l.* Income to each Member.

16. That the greatest disparities between Income and Members occur in the Four Agricultural Groups.

17. That the Constituencies created on the *cumulative* principle, under the Poor Law Acts, do not exceed by more than 10 per cent. the present Parliamentary Constituencies.

18. That under the system of Voting Papers the Votes actually

given under the Poor Law Suffrage extend to nearly 90 per cent. of the Votes on the Register.

19. That under the system of Personal Poll at Parliamentary Elections, the actual votes given are not more than 50 per cent. of the Votes on the Register.

20. That throughout this Enquiry, it has been constantly and increasingly manifest that in the settlement of the whole of our Electoral system, whether for General or Local purposes, there is no trace whatever of numerical uniformity; the existing Institutions have grown up, as and where they were required:—and without pronouncing any opinion of the political wisdom or otherwise of Schemes of Numerical uniformity, it is perfectly certain that no alteration of that character could be established without a complete breaking-up and re-modelling of all the existing Local Boundaries, and of most of the existing Local Laws of the Country.

APPENDIX (I.)

RETURNS OF POOR LAW ASSESSMENTS *in England and Wales, 1850-1, in the FOUR SELECTED COUNTIES of Lancashire, Suffolk, Hants, and Gloucester, in 1848-9; and further Corrected Returns for same Counties for 1856-7. —Operation of Small Tenements Rating Act of 1850.*

In the two former Papers I endeavoured to arrive at approximate results, as regards the three Classes of Houses—(1) (under 6*l.*;—(2) 6*l.* and under 10*l.*;—(3) 10*l.* and above) in England and Wales, principally by the aid of the Parliamentary Return (630/1849) obtained by Mr. Poulett Scrope, of the number of “Properties” assessed to Poor Rate in 1848, in the four Counties of Lancashire, Suffolk, Hants, and Gloucester. That Return gave also the proportion of “Dwelling Houses” to Properties, and also the Number of Excusals for non-payment of the Rate, chiefly on grounds of poverty. For the four Counties the results of this Return gave,

The Dwelling Houses as 90 *per cent.* of the Properties.

The Houses *under 6l.* equal to 52·3 *per cent.*; the Houses 6*l.* and under 10*l.* equal to 17·5 *per cent.*; and the Houses 10*l.* and above, equal to 30·2 *per cent.*

The Results gave further, as the proportion of *Excusals*; 24·1 *per cent.* for Houses *under 6l.*; 24·5 *per cent.* for Houses 6*l.* and under 10*l.*; and 5·6 *per cent.* for Houses 10*l.* and above.

It appeared to me that these proportions were so excessive as to indicate some defect in the manner in which the order for the return had been worked out; and I ventured to suggest to Lord Stanley the propriety of calling for the latest practicable return of Poor Rate Assessments in the Four Counties in question, not only with a view of correcting what appeared to be the erroneous results as concerned Excusals in the Return of 1849, but also for the purpose of ascertaining the effects produced by the important change in the law and practice of Poor Law Rating as contained in the Small Tenement Rating Act of 1850 (13 and 14 Vic., cap. 99; 14th August, 1850).

Lord Stanley was good enough to comply with this suggestion, and the Return (290/1858, Rating of Tenements) has been consequently printed. This Return applies to the Four Selected Counties, and gives for 1856-7 the number of Proper-

ties assessed to the Poor Rate, at nine different rateable annual values; the number of Compositions under the Statute of 1850, and the number of Excusals.

In the former Paper, in the September 1857 *Journal*, I gave an abstract of a further Parliamentary Paper (2/1852) obtained in 1852, by Mr. Poulett Scrope, of the Number of Poor Law Assessments in 1850-1 in *each County* of England and Wales. This Return is I believe the most recent Official Paper on the subject relating for the *whole* Kingdom. The facts it contains are of course *prior* in date to the operation of the Small Tenement Act of 1850. According to the return (2/1852) the following were the *per centage* proportions of the Properties assessed in the whole of England and Wales; and in the Four selected Counties (Lancashire, Suffolk, Hants, and Gloucester):—

Properties Assessed, 1850-1.

Area.	Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	£10 and above.
1850-1—England and Wales	55.1 p. ct.	13.2 p. ct.	31.7 p. ct.
„ Four Selected Cos.	55.3 „	15.3 „	29.4 „

This was the latest information *prior* to the appearance of the Paper of last year (290/1858).

The preamble of the Statute of 1850 recites that “the Collection of Poor Rates and Highway Rates, assessed upon the *Occupiers* of tenements of small annual value, is expensive, difficult, and frequently impracticable, and that it is expedient to make better provision for the Rating of such Tenements, and the Collection of such Rates.” The provisions made accordingly, are in substance as follows:—(1.) Vestries may order that from a given date, as regards tenements of “a yearly rateable value” of *not more than 6l.*, the *Owners*, and not the *Occupiers* shall be assessed for Poor and Highway Rates. (2) That such an order, when once made, shall be in force for at least *three* years. (3) That the assessments on *Owners* shall be on *three-fourths* of the rateable yearly value on which the assessment would be made on the *Occupier*. (4.) That *Owners* may compound for a whole year’s rating, to be paid whether the premises be occupied or not, on the basis of *one-half* the rateable value. (5) That notwithstanding the rating of the Owner, the *Occupier* shall still be entitled to all Municipal privileges and franchises conferred on *Occupiers* by the Municipal Corporation Act.

It will easily be understood that a law of this character will bring upon the Rate Books an immense number of Small Properties, which previously escaped altogether, as not worth the trouble of assessing; and, therefore, that subsequent to 1850, any accurate return of Properties rated, will present a more perfect and trustworthy index of the real proportions of the Properties of different amounts of annual rateable value.

We shall find accordingly that the results of the Return for 1856-7 differ widely, as regards the Four Counties, from the results of the Return for 1850-1, thus:—

(S.)—*Results, ’50-1 and ’56-7.—Differences.*

Year.	Area.	Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	£10 and above.
1850-1	Four Counties	55.3 p. ct.	15.3 p. ct.	29.4 p. ct.
1856-7	„	62.4 „	15.0 „	22.6 „

We have in these figures a most important *increase* in the *Smallest* and most important *decrease* in the *Largest* Assessments.

It will also be easily understood that the Act of 1850 will largely diminish the proportion of *Excusals* for non-payment of rates on grounds of poverty, inasmuch, as for a large per centage of the smaller tenements, the assessments will be collected from the *Owners*, who will, of course make additions to the rent:—thus, for the

Four Counties the Compositions amount to 30 *per cent.* of all the Assessments under 6*l.* The comparison of Excusals in the Returns of 1848-9, and 1856-7, is as follows:—

(T.)—EXCUSALS for Non-Payment—Per Centages of Total Assessments.

Year.	Area.	Under £6.	£6 and under £10.	Above £10.
1848-9	Four Counties	24.1 p. ct.	24.5 p. ct.	5.6 p. ct.
1856-7	„	4.3 „	9.2 „	5.2 „

I said in the Paper of September 1857, “it seems to be a fairly admissible conclusion that, in 1848-9, as large a proportion as *one-fifth*, or 20 *per cent.*, of Houses under 10*l.* were excused from non-payment of Poor Rate, for reasons indicating the straitened means of the Occupier, but I doubt exceedingly, whether in 1856-7 Excusals of payment on the same ground amount to more than a comparatively small part of the *per centage* at which they stood in 1848-9; and in justice to the Smaller Occupiers, the fact of their present improved condition should be definitively ascertained as a preliminary to the discussions of next year (1858).”

The Return 290/1858, was obtained for this purpose, and as regards the second class of Assessments (6*l.* and under 10*l.*), we see that it reduces the *Excusals* from (say) 20 *per cent.* to 9.2 *per cent.*; a most important and gratifying correction.

For the Smallest Class of Assessments (under 6*l.*), the Excusals are reduced from 24.1 *per cent.*, to 4.3 *per cent.*; but, then, allowance must be made for the Compositions under the Act of 1850.

We find by the following Table (V), that in the Four Counties, the total number of Assessments under 6*l.* in 1856-7 was 540,000; of these, 275,000 (or say 50 *per cent.*) were provided for by Compositions. In the remaining 265,000 Assessments there were 23,600 Excusals, equal to 9.0 *per cent.*

I do not think, therefore, that the evidence before us justifies a conclusion more favourable than the following, viz.:—

*That in 1856-7, allowing for the operation of the Act of 1850, the proportion of Excusals in the Smallest Class of Assessments (under 6*l.*) is about 20 per cent., and in the Second Class of Assessments (6*l.* and under 10*l.*) is somewhat less than 10 per cent.*

Nor can we be surprised at this result, knowing as we do, that in the Smaller Class of Tenements, the only mode of securing the rent is by weekly or fortnightly collections.

We have seen that the Act of 1850 preserves to occupiers, in cases where the owner is rated, the franchises, &c., conferred on occupiers by the Municipal Corporation Reform Act of 1835 (56 Wm. IV, cap. 76). The municipal constituencies created by that Act includes every male person of full age, who on the last day of August in any year shall have occupied premises within the borough, *continuously for the three previous years*, and shall for that time have been an inhabitant householder within seven miles of the borough, provided that he shall have been rated to the Poor-rates, and shall have paid them, and all borough rates, during the time of his occupation. In effect, therefore, the Municipal Franchise is a purely Rating Franchise, subject to the preliminary of a *three years'* continuous residence.

At Manchester, however, the leading authorities have found so little reason to be satisfied with this mere Rating Franchise, that in a local Act obtained so recently as last year, 1858, viz., The Manchester Overseer's Act, 1858 (21 & 22 Vict., cap. 62; 28 June, 1858), while full power is taken to act upon the principle of the Statute of 1850, and to extend its range from 6*l.* to 10*l.*, scrupulous care is taken to *exclude* from the Municipal Suffrage all *occupiers* whose rates are paid by the assessment of the owner. The eighth section recites “And whereas, by reason of the large amount of property of small annual value in the several townships, it is desirable that power be given to the overseers to rate and compound with the *Owners of Cottages and Dwelling-houses*, the annual rateable value of which

“shall not exceed *Ten pounds* ;” and not only is the power of composition conferred, with authority to accept rates at not less than *half* the annual rateable value, where the owner consents to be rated irrespective of the occupation or non-occupation of the premises, but the section proceeds to make it imperative on the overseers “where any Cottage or Dwelling-house is assessed to the rate for the Relief of the Poor, at a yearly rateable value, not exceeding *Ten pounds*, the overseers “shall assess the owner of such Cottage or Dwelling-house, instead of the occupier.” It is true, that under section 13 an occupier may claim in writing to be rated in his own name, and may tender the rate then due; but this saving clause does not materially alter the significance of the fact, that only last year an Act was obtained by the local authorities of Manchester which in effect does deprive of the Municipal Franchise all occupiers at a rateable value of 10*l.* and under. Assuming the rateable value to the Poor-rate to be *one-fifth less* than the actual rent paid by the tenant, the effect of the measure at Manchester is to disfranchise for municipal purposes all occupiers at a *rent* of 12*l.* or under.

In the following Table (V) the number of “Properties” or “Tenements” assessed is only given, meaning by “Properties” or “Tenements,” not only Dwelling-houses, but gardens, fields, yards, stables, outhouses, barns, or other premises capable of being held at a rent by occupiers, or by owners for their own use. In order to reduce the “tenements” to “Inhabited Houses,” I am led, after some investigation, to believe that as a general rule a deduction of 15 *per cent.* would rather under than over-state the number of inhabited houses. We should have then these results for the four Counties :—

(U).—*Assessments and Inhabited Houses, '51 and '56-7.*

Year.	Lancashire.	Suffolk.	Hants.	Gloucester.
1856-7.—Assessments.....	585,000	85,000	92,000	104,000
„ 15 per cent. off	88,000	13,000	14,000	16,000
„ Inhabited Houses (say)	497,000	72,000	78,000	88,000
„ 1851	350,000	70,000	75,000	86,000
<i>Increase.</i>	147,000	2,000	3,000	2,000
Equal to	30·0 p. ct.	2·8 p. ct.	4·0 p. ct.	2·2 p. ct.

It would appear by these figures, that the increase of Inhabited Houses in Lancashire since 1851 has been exceedingly great; and certainly the prodigious augmentation of productive powers in that region must have led to a vast addition to the resident population.

Reasoning from the data furnished or suggested by the two following Tables (V) and (W), I have given in the text in Table (F) a computed statement for each Group of Counties and Boroughs, of the *Male Occupiers* in 1858, at the rent (1) under 6*l.*; (2) 6*l.* and under 10*l.*; and (3) 10*l.* and above. The statement is in the form of a per centage of the Inhabited Houses, as ascertained in 1851.

(V.)—FOUR SELECTED COUNTIES. — *Lancashire, Suffolk, Hants, and Gloucestershire.* — NUMBER of “*Properties*” assessed to Poor Rate. — With Number of COMPOSITIONS under *Small Tenements Rating Act*, 1850 (13 and 14 Vict. cap. 99), and Number of EXCUSEALS as per *Parl. Paper* 290/58.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
CLASSES OF ASSESSMENTS.	Lancaster.		Suffolk.		Hampshire.		Gloucester.		
	Assess- ments.	Of which Excused.	Assess- ments.	Of which Excused.	Assess- ments.	Of which Excused.	Assess- ments.	Of which Excused.	
Composnrs.—not ex. £6	No. 126,510	No.	No. 19,087	No.	No. 17,440	No.	No. 12,626	No.	
Under £4	123,888	3,587	36,779	5,066	23,625	3,211	38,404	6,518	
£ 4 or under £ 5...	61,305	1,172	4,547	175	7,141	459	6,850	795	
£ 5 „ £ 6...	48,816	1,762	2,930	75	5,517	262	4,685	503	
(I.)	360,519	6,521	63,343	5,316	53,723	3,932	62,565	7,816	
£ 6 „ £ 8...	57,576	6,617	3,757	21	10,461	370	7,534	666	
£ 8 „ £10...	37,108	4,481	2,500	14	5,144	223	5,679	200	
(II.)	94,684	11,098	6,257	35	15,605	593	13,213	866	
£10 „ £12...	21,710	2,881	1,886	3	3,949	66	3,223	64	
£12 „ £15...	20,301	2,774	1,959	3	3,774	29	3,535	18	
£15 „ £20...	23,125	809	2,303	5	4,378	6	4,299	21	
£20 and above	64,906	202	9,230	16	10,702	6	16,899	43	
(III.)	130,042	6,666	15,378	27	22,803	107	27,956	146	
Total Assmts. '56-7 .	585,245	24,285	84,978	5,378	92,131	4,632	103,734	8,828	
„ '48-9 .	369,046	49,677	71,753	23,534	65,605	21,535	80,979	14,855	
1856-7.—More	216,199	....	13,225	....	26,526	....	22,755	....
„ Less .....	....	25,392	....	18,156	....	16,903	....	6,027
Assts. '56-7 } over '48-9 } more {	Per ct. 58'6	....	Per ct. 18'3	....	Per ct. 40'0	....	Per ct. 28'7	....

The following Table (W.) presents, under three Divisions, a Summary of the per centage results of 1848-9 :—of 1850-1 and 1856-7.

(W.)—FOUR SELECTED COUNTIES.—*Per Centage Proportions of (1) Total Properties Assessed 1856-7 and 1850-1.—And (2) Excusals for Non-Payment in 1856-7 and 1848-9. Parl. Papers 298/58, 2/52, 630/49.*

(I.)—No. of Properties Assessed.—Per Centages.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
FOUR SELECTED COUNTIES.	No. of "Properties" Assessed.—Per Centage Proportions.						
	Under £6.		£6 and under £10.		£10 and above.		
	'56-7.	'50-1.	'56-7.	'50-1.	'56-7.	'50-1.	
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	
Lancaster	61·5	....	16·2	....	22·3	....
„ .....	....	49·6	....	19·8	....	30·6	
Suffolk	74·5	....	7·3	....	18·2	....
„ .....	....	67·9	....	8·6	....	23·5	
Hampshire.....	58·3	....	17·0	....	24·7	....
„ .....	....	50·0	....	19·0	....	31·0	
Gloucestershire	60·2	....	12·6	....	27·2	....
„ .....	....	53·7	....	13·8	....	32·5	
<i>Average</i>	62·4	....	15·0	....	22·6	....
„ .....	....	55·3	....	15·3	....	29·4	

(II.)—Excusals for Non-Payment.—Per Centages of Total Assessments.

	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	'56-7.	'48-9.	'56-7.	'48-9.	'56-7.	'48-9.	
Lancaster	1·8	....	11·7	....	5·1	....
„ .....	....	10·4	....	29·3	....	7·6	
Suffolk	8·4	....	....	....	....	....
„ .....	....	47·0	....	....	....	....
Hampshire.....	7·3	....	4·0	....	....	....
„ .....	....	57·6	....	18·1	....	4·7	
Gloucestershire	12·6	....	6·0	....	....	....
„ .....	....	26·0	....	10·0	....	....
<i>Average</i>	4·3	....	9·2	....	5·2	....
„ .....	....	24·1	....	24·5	....	5·6	

(III.)—No. of Properties Assessed.—MEAN PER CENTAGES of '56-7 and '50-1.

	15	16	17	18
FOUR SELECTED COUNTIES.	Under £6.		£6 and under £10.	
	Mean.		Mean.	
	56 · per cent.		18 · per cent.	
Lancaster	56 ·	per cent.	18 ·	per cent.
Suffolk	71 ·	„	8 ·	„
Hampshire.....	54 ·	„	19 ·	„
Gloucestershire	57 ·	„	13 ·	„
	59 ·	„	15 ·	„

NOTE.—This Table may be read as follows :—In *Lancashire*, of the total number of “Properties” of all kinds, (Houses, Gardens, Lands, Workshops, Stables, Cowsheds, &c.), assessed to the Poor, the assessments under 6*l.* annual Rating Value were equal to 61·5 per cent. (col. 2) in 1856-7 against 49·6 per cent. in 1850-1. And the *Excusals* for Non-Payment of Poor Rate assessed (generally on the ground of poverty), were equal in 1856-7 to 1·8 per cent. (col. 9) of the total number of assessments against 10·4 per cent. (col. 10) in 1848-9.

In connection with this Appendix I am glad to avail myself of the following valuable details, relating to the Borough of Leeds, collected by Mr. Baines, and published by him in the *Leeds Mercury* early in January, 1859. These details reached me when I had advanced a long way in the preparation of this Paper.

“The franchise proposed by the London Parliamentary Reform Association to be established in boroughs, is defined to include—

“Every person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall *occupy*, as owner or tenant, *any premises which are rated to the Relief of the Poor.*”

“This, though sometimes called a ‘*Rating Franchise*,’ is in reality *more than Household Suffrage*,’ because in towns *every house*, and indeed *every tenement*, is rated, whether large or small. Even a pig-stye is legally chargeable with poor-rates.

“There is, however, a great misunderstanding on this point, even among men of intelligence and experience. We know some who suppose that the above franchise, because it is called a ‘*Rating Franchise*,’ implies that the householder shall *himself, in his own person, pay all parochial rates to the collectors*. But the definition we have quoted from the London programme does not say or imply this. It simply says—‘who shall *occupy*, as owner or tenant, any premises which are *rated* to the relief of the poor.’ Now *all premises are rated*; but under the Small Tenements Act of 1850 (13 and 14 Victoria, c. 99), which is now adopted in almost all towns, the rates on all tenements ‘the yearly rateable value of which does not exceed 6*l.*,’ are paid, *not by the tenant, but by the landlord*. It is true that the tenant ultimately pays the rate, because it is (generally speaking) included in the rent which he pays to his landlord. But, inasmuch as the immense majority (probably nineteen-twentieths) of the occupiers of cottages *pay their rents WEEKLY*, by 1*s.*, 1*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.*, or 2*s.* 6*d.* at a time, and as they are compelled to do this, or they could not obtain a house to put their heads in, *this affords no evidence of saving, forethought, or prudence*, still less of any means beyond those of the humblest day-labourer. We are not saying that all occupiers of cottages are deficient in these qualities—far from it; we only point out that the mere payment of rates in this manner, that is, mixed up with the rent, which itself is paid *weekly*, affords no evidence whatever of respectable circumstances or character.

"There is a provision in the Small Tenements Act which is very significant as to the poverty and the shifting habits of many of the occupiers of the cottages. The 4th section provides that a deduction of one-fourth, and even of *one-half* (where due notice has been given), may be claimed by the owner on payment of the rates; in this case, however, he must pay for all his cottages, whether occupied or empty; but the provision clearly indicates the difficulty found in collecting rates from the occupiers, and the frequency with which they change their dwellings. Otherwise the overseers could not justly or reasonably sacrifice so large a proportion of the rates.

"The same inference must be drawn from the fact that the rents of nearly all cottage dwellings are collected *weekly*. The landlord or his agent would not take the trouble to collect weekly, unless experience proved that it would be difficult to collect the rents at longer periods, say, monthly or quarterly. When we inquired the other day of an old rate collector whether the rents could not be collected monthly, he replied that they could not be deferred so long without great risk of many of the tenants removing in order to evade the payment. Surely this is an indication the most decisive, either of poverty, or of habits of some kind incompatible with the qualifications requisite for the choice of Members of Parliament.

"It should be stated that in Leeds, and we believe in most other towns, the 'rateable value,' does not mean the rent, but about one-sixth less than the rent. Thus, a dwelling of the yearly rent of 7*l.* 5*s.* is rated at 6*l.*; a dwelling of the rent of 6*l.* is rated at 5*l.*; and a dwelling of the rent of 4*l.* is rated at 3*l.* 5*s.* Therefore the Small Tenements Act, applying to tenements 'the yearly rateable value of 'which does not exceed 6*l.*,' requires the owners to pay the rates for all dwellings of which the yearly rent (exclusive of the rates) does not exceed 7*l.* 5*s.*

"We will endeavour to show how the *occupation suffrage*, as defined by the London Reform Association, would work in the borough of Leeds. The present number of names on the Register, as entitled to vote for Members of Parliament, is 6,320; which being reduced, by deducting those who have more than one qualification, makes a constituency of about 5,500 voters. But the whole number of tenements in the borough is 44,975, *all of which are rated*. Of these 38,499 are Dwellings, and 6,476 are other Tenements. Deducting 1,703 for Unoccupied tenements, and 5,688 for Female occupiers, there remain 37,184 tenements occupied by Male tenants. From this number, however, a deduction must be made for those who have more than one qualification; and perhaps the number of *occupiers* would be about 32,000. We must further deduct all adult males who have received parochial relief within twelve months, which constitutes a 'legal incapacity.' We can only form a rough estimate of the number of this class, but from the best information we can obtain from our parish officers, we suppose the number may average about 2,000. This would reduce the 32,000 to 30,000. Lastly, we must make an allowance for those who have not resided in the borough for the length of time required by law, which is at present twelve months. We suppose the number of these might be about 2,000, which, deducted from 30,000, leaves 28,000 as the probable number of persons who might be entitled to vote for Members of Parliament in the borough of Leeds, under the definition printed above. Thus, as well as we can judge, the number of Parliamentary voters in this borough would be increased from 5,500 to 28,000, or *more than FIVE-FOLD*.

"In order to form an idea of the position in life of those who would be thus added to the constituency, we may look at the value of their dwellings, which may be inferred from the following table:—

Tenements in the Borough of Leeds, with their Ratings.—1858.

Rated at		Number of Tenements.	Rated at		Number of Tenements.
£3 10 <i>s.</i> and under	.....	23,376	£8 and under £10	....	1,942
£4 and under £5	.....	5,325	Above £10	.....	8,376
£5	..	£6	.....	
£6	..	£8	.....	
		2,191	Total	.....	44,975

" Thus it appears that 23,376 Tenements are rated at and under 3*l.* 10*s.* We are told that the *gross rental (including all the parochial rates)* paid on houses rated at 3*l.* 10*s.*, is from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per week, that is, from 5*l.* 4*s.* to 5*l.* 17*s.* a year.* Taking an average of 5*l.* 10*s.* for the gross rental of this class of tenements, about 4*l.* 15*s.* would represent the landlord's rent, and 15*s.* the parochial rates. Further, 5,325 more of the tenements in Leeds are rated at 4*l.*, and under 5*l.* Taking the average of 4*l.* 10*s.*, the gross rental paid for such houses is about 2*s.* 9*d.* per week, or 7*l.* 3*s.* a year; of which 6*l.* would represent the landlord's rent, and 1*l.* 3*s.* the parochial rates. Adding together these two classes of houses, it seems that there are 28,701 tenements in Leeds (out of a total of 44,975) of the value of 6*l.* a year and under. These figures give the tenements, not the occupiers, who may be about one-sixth less, or 24,918; and if we further deduct 4,095, as being the proportion of unoccupied tenements and of female tenants found in the borough, it would still show 20,823 *male householders in Leeds living in houses not exceeding the value of 6*l.* a year.* Almost every one of these pays his rent *weekly*, and *no rates* are paid by this class of persons distinct from their rent.

" Of course these 20,823 persons will include nearly all those who receive parish relief, and the greater number of those who would be left off the register on the ground of too short residence. But it seems not unlikely, from the above figures, that 16,000 persons might be placed on the register by the occupation suffrage proposed in London, who are living in cottages not exceeding 6*l.* a year value, and *five-sixths of them below 4*l.* 15*s.**"

APPENDIX (II)

DISTRIBUTION OF REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY *as indicated by the* INCOME TAX ASSESSMENTS.—*Assessed Taxes, 1858.*

In the following table (Y) the amount of Annual Income from Land and Trade in 56-7, according to the Assessments to Income Tax and Schedules (A), (B), and (D), is given for each County Division, and Parliamentary Borough therein, as set forth in the two Parliamentary Papers 317/57, obtained by Mr. Disraeli, and 492/58 obtained by Mr. Bright. The figures in these papers are free from the disturbances arising from the assessment of Income Tax upon the profits of Railway Companies in the towns or places at which the head offices of the Companies may happen to be. A Parliamentary Paper, 31/58, obtained by Mr. J. B. Smith, gives the Income Tax assessment, including the Railways, and the differences are very striking; thus the assessment in 56-7, for the Borough of Marylebone, under Schedule (A), is on 5,717,000*l.* when the Railways are *included*, and only on 2,821,000*l.* when the Railways are *excluded*. Similarly, the (A) assessment in Manchester City, was 2,457,000*l.* *with*, and 1,531,000*l.* *without* the Railways.

It is perfectly clear, however, that in order to arrive at the ordinary Income Tax assessment of a Town, the Head Office payments of Railways must be excluded. The Railway dividends are distributed all over the country, but happen to be accounted for at only one point.

The 15,594,000*l.* (A) assessment of the City of London, requires large correction for the Income Tax paid at the Head Offices of Banking, Docks, Insurance, Gas, Telegraph, Shipping, Trading, and other Public Companies.

In 1856-7, the Income Tax was assessed under the Act 18 Vict., cap. 20, (25 May, 1855), at the rate of 11½*d.* in the £ on incomes of 100*l.* to 150*l.* per

* Here the difference between the rent and the rateable value is much more than one-sixth, which is accounted for by the fact that the rate itself is included in the gross rental.

annum; and at 1s. 4d. in the £ on incomes of more than 150l. per annum. The contents of the Schedules remained the same as in the original Act (506 Vict., cap. 35) of 1842, viz.,

Schedule (A) extends the tax to the annual value of all lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Great Britain, in respect of the *property or ownership thereof*; that is to say, the owners of Real Property pay the Income Tax at 1s. 4d. in the £ on the annual value of such property, under Schedule (A).

Schedule (B) taxes the profits of Farmers, and others *occupying* Farms or Lands, and assumes that such profits are equal to *half* the annual value, or half the rack rent; and, therefore, levies the tax at *half* the rate under Schedule (A), or at 8d. in the £ on the *whole* of the rent.

Schedule (D) taxes profits derived from Trades and Professions, at 1s. 4d. in the £.

The two remaining Schedules apply, (C) to Annuities and Dividends, and (E) to Salaries and Pensions.

The amount of Incomes assessed under (A), (B), and (D), will obviously go far towards indicating, pretty closely, the relative amounts of Property in different Towns and Counties. If agriculture predominates, the returns under (A) and (B) will be large. If large towns predominate, the returns under (A) will be considerable in respect of the rent of Houses, Shops, and Manufactures; and still more considerable for trading profits assessable under Schedule (D). We must not forget, however, that the Income returned under Schedule (A) is worth very nearly three times as many years' purchase as the Income under (B) and (D). The proportions of *Property*, therefore, under the three Schedules, would be very different from the proportions of *Income* they may indicate.

It has been sometimes contended that the payments for Assessed Taxes afford a better criterion of the local distribution of property, than the payments of Income Tax—but this position is hardly tenable. About a third (760,000l.) of the whole amount (2,000,000l.) of Assessed Taxes in Great Britain, arises from the Inhabited House Duty, imposed (14 and 15 Vict., cap. 36) in 1851, in lieu of the Window Duty. But this duty does not apply to houses of less than 20l. rent, and certainly would not afford any fair criterion of the amount of property in two such towns as Brighton and Preston, for example. About a fourth part of the 2,000,000l. is afforded by the Taxes on Male Servants and Carriages—a still more capricious standard; and a sixth part of the 2,000,000l. arises from the Duty on Race and other Horses.

In 1857, out of the 61 Millions of Revenue in Great Britain, 18 Millions only were raised by Assessed and Income Taxes; the other 43 Millions were raised mainly by the Customs, Excise, and Post-office. Every one knows that the great mass of contributions to this 43 Millions comes from the poorer classes in the form of indirect taxes on the consumption of tea, coffee, sugar, spirits, beer, fruits, &c.; but there are no means of ascertaining *territorially* in what proportions the 43 Millions are raised.

In the absence of such means, I believe that the Income Tax Returns are the best indications—if not of the total revenue contributions of each district—certainly of the amount of property, real and personal, within it.

For convenience I give the following Table (X) of the amount of Assessed Taxes in 1856-7:—

(X.)—ASSESSED TAXES.—*Great Britain, 1856-7.—Gross Amount of Duty charged under the leading Classes of Assessment.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
GREAT BRITAIN.		CLASSES OF DUTY.	ENGLAND AND WALES.		SCOTLAND.	
'56.	'57.		'56.	'57.	'56.	'57.
£	£		£	£	£	£
213,000	214,000	(i).—INHABITED HOUSE DUTY. Shops, Warehouses, Farm and Beer Houses worth £20 rent, @ 6d. in £	209,000	209,000	4,700	4,600
536,000	545,000	Dwelling Houses £20, @ 9d. in £	495,000	503,000	41,000	42,000
749,000	759,000		704,000	712,000	45,700	46,600
183,000	194,000	(ii).—MALE SERVANTS. Rates from 10s. 6d. to 21s.	167,000	177,000	16,000	16,300
283,000	302,000	(iii).—CARRIAGES. Rates from 5s. to 70s.	260,000	279,000	22,000	24,000
225,000	236,000	(iv).—HORSES. Private use.—Race Horses 77s. } —Others 10s. 6d. to 21s. }	207,000	218,000	17,800	18,000
115,000	117,000	Used in Trade, 51s. 3d. to 10s. 6d.	104,000	106,000	11,000	11,500
340,000	353,000		311,000	324,000	28,800	29,500
200,000	199,000	(v).—DOGS. Packs of Hounds and others	180,000	179,000	19,000	19,500
14,300	14,600	(vi).—HORSE DEALERS.	12,600	13,000	1,600	1,600
1,200	1,300	(vii).—HAIR POWDER.	1,100	1,200	....	....
50,600	53,800	(viii).—ARMORIAL BEARINGS.	46,200	49,200	4,300	4,600
130,000	135,000	(ix).—GAME CERTIFICATES.	118,000	123,000	12,000	12,500
196,100	204,700		177,900	186,400	18,900	18,700
1,953,000	2,013,000	Total Assessed Taxes.	1,803,000	1,858,000	150,000	154,000
14,223,000	15,161,000	Property and Income Tax.				
16,276,000	17,174,000	{ Customs, Excise, Post Office, Crown Lands, Land Tax, &c.				
49,574,000	44,381,000					
65,850,000	61,555,000					

(Y).—COUNTY DIVISIONS and BOROUGHs in ENGLAND and WALES, 1856-7—ELECTORS on Register, and Amounts on which Income Tax, Schedules (A), (B), and (D), was Assessed. [The 000's are omitted in Cols. 5, 6, 7, 8.]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	[The long tail figures within brackets are the <i>Old Suffrage</i> Voters in <i>Boroughs</i> ; and the 501., &c., <i>Tenant Voters</i> in Counties in '52-3.] COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Members.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax Paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands-Owners.) £	B. (Lands-Occupiers.) £	D. (Trades.) £	TOTAL. £
I.—Metropolitan.							
46,377	MIDDLESEX .....(1,386)	2	14,977	1,616,	300,	796,	2,712,
14,580	London City .....(7,203)	4	19,115	1,971,	....	13,623,	15,594,
24,755	Westminster City .....(1497)	2	13,182	2,566,	....	3,774,	6,340,
37,427	*Finsbury	2	20,626	1,882,	....	2,469,	4,351,
40,513	*Marylebone	2	20,851	2,821,	13,	1,992,	4,826,
75,710	*Tower Hamlets	2	27,980	1,800,	10,	1,893,	3,703,
39,154	*Lambeth	2	20,276	1,182,	11,	846,	2,039,
23,751	Southwark .....(332)	2	10,170	683,	1,	1,066,	1,750,
255,890		16	132,200	12,905,	35,	25,663,	38,603,
Ia.—Universities.							
	Oxford University	2	3,238	58,	....	60,	118,
	Cambridge University	2	4,552	31,	....	47,	78,
		4	8,090	89,	....	107,	196,
II.—South Eastern.							
28,104	KENT, EAST .....(1,384)	2	8,117	1,051,	689,	309,	2,049,
3,654	Canterbury .....(946)	2	1,876	52,	5,	86,	143,
3,747	Dover .....(991)	2	2,024	121,	1,	77,	199,
2,261	Hythe .....(45)	1	998	41,	4,	38,	83,
2,474	Sandwich .....(329)	2	1,008	37,	6,	40,	83,
12,136		7	5,906	251,	16,	241,	508,
42,280	KENT, WEST ....(1751)	2	8,993	1,356,	664,	550,	2,570,
4,337	*Chatham	1	1,463	80,	12,	76,	168,
15,401	*Greenwich	2	7,888	427,	13,	313,	753,
3,676	Maidstone .....(532)	2	1,611	99,	12,	132,	243,
2,549	Rochester .....(340)	2	1,180	64,	13,	72,	149,
25,963		7	12,142,	670,	50,	593,	1,313,

Note.—Throughout this Table the Totals of *all the cols.* in each County Division are given *separately* for the *Boroughs* within that Division.—Thus, in EAST KENT, the Total *Borough* Electors is 5,906,—and the Total *County* Electors 8,117.—The names in *Italic* (e.g. *Hythe*) are places deprived of *one* Member in 1832. The places marked * (e.g. *Finsbury) were Enfranchised in that year.

(Y.)—Contd.—Income Tax Assessed, '56-7,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
25,104	South Eastern—Contd.			£	£	£	£
792	SURREY, EAST..... (1,179)	2	7,191	1,055,	204,	547,	1,806,
792	Reigate	1	442	29,	7,	23,	59,
18,110	SURREY, WEST..... (641)	2	3,920	417,	246,	252,	915,
1,176	Guildford	2	666	33,	1,	24,	58,
1,176		2	666	33,	1,	24,	58,
21,372	SUSSEX, EAST.... (1,034)	2	6,056	637,	432,	120,	1,189,
10,843	*Brighton	2	3,936	482,	3,	405,	890,
2,477	Hastings	2	1,199	124,	5,	68,	197,
1,747	Lewes	2	724	40,	6,	50,	96,
1,557	Rye	1	462	23,	42,	16,	81,
16,624		7	6,321	669,	56,	539,	1,264,
10,660	SUSSEX, WEST (479)	2	3,000	341,	257,	71,	669,
552	Arundel..... (85)	1	199	11,	2,	13,	26,
1,653	Chichester..... (76)	2	638	43,	5,	50,	98,
1,081	Horsham	1	350	24,	10,	16,	50,
1,300	Midhurst	1	411	20,	23,	11,	54,
5,421	Shoreham	2	1,800	176,	99,	68,	343,
10,007		7	3,398	274,	139,	158,	571,
21,775	HANTS, NORTH (698)	2	3,149	603,	482,	119,	1,104,
1,079	Andover	2	233	25,	5,	20,	50,
1,072	Petersfield	1	331	31,	24,	7,	62,
2,077	Winchester	2	842	43,	4,	55,	102,
4,288		5	1,406	99,	33,	82,	214,
19,161	HANTS, SOUTH (500)	2	5,525	467,	257,	175,	899,
1,543	Christchurch	1	328	37,	19,	15,	71,
1,029	Lymington	2	323	22,	6,	14,	42,
12,825	Portsmouth	2	3,671	211,	10,	179,	400,
5,749	Southampton	2	3,508	179,	3,	181,	363,
21,146		7	7,830	449,	38,	389,	876,

under Schedules (A), (B), (D).—(Y).—Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
7,378	South Eastern—Contd.			£	£	£	£
1,550	ISLE OF WIGHT.... (250)	1	1,949	229,	88,	96,	413,
1,550	Newport (4)	2	654	29,	....	44,	73,
		2	654	29,	....	44,	73,
25,202	III.—South Midland.						
1,244	BERKSHIRE (994)	3	4,836	777,	559,	225,	1,561,
4,098	Abingdon (9)	1	323	19,	1,	28,	48,
1,635	Reading (7)	2	1,431	93,	4,	140,	237,
1,417	Wallingford (29)	1	371	43,	25,	20,	88,
	Windsor (128)	2	642	44,	1,	59,	104,
8,394		6	2,767	199,	31,	247,	477,
30,062	HERTFORDSHIRE (1,253)	3	6,061	834,	514,	380,	1,728,
1,150	Hertford (169)	2	620	31,	4,	40,	75,
1,150	[St. Albans] (128)	....	....	....	....	....	....
		2	620	31,	4,	40,	75,
23,491	BUCKS (1,177)	3	5,353	688,	515,	185,	1,388,
5,472	Aylesbury (352)	2	1,417	120,	87,	51,	258,
1,717	Buckingham (3)	2	354	43,	26,	26,	95,
1,441	Chipping Wycombe (1)	2	390	26,	7,	22,	55,
1,211	Great Marlow (54)	2	343	18,	7,	14,	39,
9,841		8	2,504	207,	127,	113,	447,
25,983	OXFORDSHIRE (1,183)	3	5,119	740,	588,	155,	1,483,
1,721	Banbury (1243)	1	538	41,	1,	58,	100,
4,933	Oxford City (37)	2	2,656	113,	7,	126,	246,
1,623	Woodstock (37)	1	336	33,	24,	7,	64,
8,277		4	3,530	187,	32,	191,	410,
17,935	NORTHAMPTON, N. (935)	2	3,800	563,	461,	166,	1,190,
1,755	Peterborough (113)	2	542	48,	12,	57,	117,
1,755		2	542	48,	12,	57,	117,

(Y.)—Contd.—Income Tax Assessed, '56-7,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
				A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
	South Midland—Contd.	No.	No.	£	£	£	£
18,991	NORTHAMPTON, S. (1055)	2	4,675	589,	498,	182,	1,269,
4,886	Northampton .....(784)	2	1,774	89,	5,	164,	258,
4,886		2	1,774	89,	5,	164,	258,
22,366	BEDFORDSHIRE ....(910)	2	4,276	517,	380,	183,	1,080,
2,307	Bedford .....(398)	2	879	45,	7,	61,	113,
2,307		2	879	45,	7,	61,	113,
	IV.—Eastern.						
12,041	HUNTS .....(582)	2	2,988	374,	282,	110,	766,
1,244	Huntingdon .....(63)	2	382	29,	11,	36,	76,
1,244		2	382	29,	11,	36,	76,
32,032	CAMBRIDGESHIRE (962)	3	6,298	1,026,	827,	274,	2,127,
5,194	Cambridge (Bor.) (8)	2	1,878	123,	8,	217,	348,
5,194		2	1,878	123,	8,	217,	348,
34,335	ESSEX, NORTH ....(1,329)	2	5,553	830,	649,	202,	1,681,
4,145	Colchester .....(466)	2	1,282	66,	17,	83,	166,
751	Harwich .....(3)	2	313	15,	3,	14,	32,
4,896		4	1,595	81,	20,	97,	198,
33,120	ESSEX, SOUTH ....(1,541)	2	6,169	1,084,	697,	374,	2,155,
1,179	Maldon .....(610)	2	879	17,	5,	20,	42,
1,179		2	879	17,	5,	20,	42,
32,614	NORFOLK, EAST....(1,738)	2	7,755	1,152,	811,	166,	2,129,
14,988	Norwich .....(2,930)	2	6,175	220,	14,	317,	551,
6,886	Yarmouth .....(3)	2	1,308	94,	4,	106,	204,
21,874		4	7,483	314,	18,	423,	55,

under Schedules (A), (B), (D).—(Y.).—Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1841.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
34,846	Eastern—Contd.			£	£	£	£
—	NORFOLK, WEST (1,647)	2	7,179	953,	919,	224,	2,096,
3,845	King's Lynn .....(200)	2	1,055	67,	6,	103,	176,
844	Thetford .....(8)	2	218	13,	3,	21,	37,
4,689		4	1,273	80,	9,	124,	213,
30,677	SUFFOLK, EAST (1,684)	2	5,907	858,	637,	176,	1,671,
6,979	Ipswich .....(345)	2	1,891	121,	10,	141,	272,
6,979		2	1,891	121,	10,	141,	272,
26,620	SUFFOLK, WEST (1,092)	2	4,084	699,	533,	155,	1,387,
2,752	Bury St. Edmund's .....(3)	2	702	54,	7,	76,	137,
1,374	Eye .....(28)	1	359	30,	31,	8,	69,
4,126		3	1,061	84,	38,	84,	206,
4,588	RUTLANDSHIRE (3,981)	3	1,822	163,	133,	36,	332,
—	(No Boroughs.)	—	—	—	—	—	—
....	
....	
29,560	LINCOLN (Kest. & Hol.) (2236)	2	8,287	1,292	1,158	228,	2,678,
3,622	Boston.....(160)	2	1,057	75,	23,	73,	171,
1,968	Grantham .....(236)	2	740	42,	12,	52,	106,
1,616	Stamford .....(139)	2	529	33,	5,	67,	105,
7,206		6	2,326	150,	40	192,	382,
39,027	LINCOLN (Lindsey) (3,061)	2	12,435	1,486,	1,286,	972,	3,044,
2,354	Grimsby .....(312)	1	888	55,	25,	47,	127,
3,450	Lincoln .....(548)	2	1,405	73,	8,	114,	195,
5,804		3	2,293	128,	33,	161,	322,
25,061	YORK, E. RIDING (2,449)	2	7,444	1,035,	1,741,	1,422,	4,198,
2,183	Beverley .....(907)	2	1,136	42,	17,	46,	105,
16,634	Hull .....(1,834)	2	5,494	339,	10,	700,	1,049,
18,817		4	6,630	381,	27,	746,	1,154,

(Y.)—Contd.—Income Tax Assessed, '56-7,

1	2	3	4	6	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
18,007	V.—South Western.			£	£	£	£
—	WILTS, NORTH ....(754)	2	4,485	484,	374,	126,	984,
1,047	Calne .....(7)	1	164	35,	15,	13,	63,
1,139	Chippenham	2	334	31,	18,	30,	79,
7,197	Cricklade.....(250)	2	1,682	265,	193,	55,	513,
1,292	Devizes .....(8)	2	319	23,	3,	30,	56,
1,420	Malmesbury .....(13)	1	315	41,	28,	16,	85,
781	Marlborough .....(5)	2	242	23,	7,	38,	68,
12,876		10	3,056	418,	264,	182,	864,
14,879	WILTS, SOUTH ....(664)	2	3,309	416,	358,	83,	857,
—	Salisbury .....(18)	2	650	40,	2,	78,	120,
2,311	Westbury .....(13)	1	342	32,	19,	7,	58,
1,535	Wilton .....(10)	1	251	47,	39,	15,	101,
1,721							
5,567		4	1,243	119,	60,	100,	279,
26,470	DORSETSHIRE ....(1,338)	3	5,621	864,	654,	142,	1,660,
—							
1,468	Bridport .....(35)	2	478	10,	4,	23,	37,
960	Dorchester .....(4)	2	451	23,	1,	36,	60,
708	Lyme Regis .....(43)	1	263	14,	3,	7,	24,
1,903	Poole .....(89)	2	539	26,	3,	47,	76,
1,894	Shaftesbury .....(17)	1	509	40,	17,	19,	76,
1,351	Wareham .....(22)	1	312	29,	12,	10,	51,
1,722	Weymouth .....(22)	2	681	43,	1,	37,	81,
10,006		11	3,233	165,	41,	179,	405,
31,752	DEVON, NORTH....(2,225)	2	7,264	765,	669,	77,	1,511,
—							
2,116	Barnstaple .....(260)	2	742	33,	3,	34,	70,
2,181	Tiverton .....(10)	2	482	42,	20,	42,	104,
4,297		4	1,224	75,	23,	76,	174,
4,857	DEVON, SOUTH ....(2,501)	2	9,625	1,129,	804,	283,	2,216,
—							
622	Ashburton.....(15)	1	182	13,	8,	7,	28,
799	Dartmouth .....(4)	1	269	15,	4,	9,	28,
4,961	*Devonport .....(286)	2	2,628	139,	3,	79,	221,
6,499	Exeter .....(91)	2	2,501	201,	4,	197,	402,
692	Honiton .....(48)	2	264	14,	5,	8,	27,
5,171	Plymouth .....(5)	2	2,604	155,	6,	216,	377,
1,009	Tavistock .....(20)	2	395	88,	11,	22,	121,
728	Totness .....(20)	2	315	17,	3,	10,	30,
20,481		14	9,158	642,	44,	548,	1,234,

under Schedules (A), (B), (D).—(Y.)—Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
25,367	South Western—Contd.			£	£	£	£
—	CORNWALL, EAST (1,409)	2	6,261	582,	398,	90,	1,070,
1,103	Bodmin .....(10)	2	390	23,	14,	8,	45,
1,051	Launceston.....	1	438	24,	16,	12,	52,
965	Liskeard .....(4)	1	372	20,	10,	16,	46,
3,119		4	1,200	67,	40,	38,	143,
31,702	CORNWALL, WEST....(792)	2	4,542	550,	278,	309,	1,137,
1,459	Helston .....(2)	1	309	17,	1,	16,	34,
2,143	Penryn and Falmouth....(173)	2	856	28,	3,	51,	82,
2,003	St. Ives .....(6)	1	536	20,	9,	15,	44,
2,194	Truro .....(4)	2	646	29,	2,	11,	42,
7,799		6	2,347	94,	15,	93,	202,
34,953	SOMERSET, EAST....(2,409)	2	10,735	996,	838,	239,	2,073,
7,744	Bath .....(4)	2	3,144	278,	10,	261,	549,
2,122	*Frome .....(1)	1	363	23,	7,	37,	67,
906	Wells.....(76)	2	343	41,	1,	18,	60,
10,772		5	3,850	342,	18,	316,	676,
31,733	SOMERSET, WEST....(1,825)	2	7,510	964,	814,	216,	1,994,
1,911	Bridgewater.....(118)	2	589	31,	4,	50,	85,
2,645	Taunton.....(97)	2	887	52,	4,	52,	108,
4,556		4	1,476	83,	8,	102,	193,
20,495	VI.—West Midland.						
—	GLOUCESTER, EAST (1,248)	2	7,891	742,	589,	130,	1,461,
6,356	*Cheltenham	1	2,170	201,	7,	175,	383,
1,211	Cirencester.....(115)	2	423	25,	8,	63,	96,
2,843	Gloucester .....(407)	2	1,743	82,	3,	149,	234,
8,182	*Stroud	2	1,287	124,	48,	153,	325,
1,274	Tewkesbury .....(49)	2	371	22,	4,	26,	52,
19,866		9	5,994	454,	70,	566,	1,090,
28,165	GLOUCESTER, WEST (1,347)	2	9,250	724,	473,	200,	1,397,
20,873	Bristol .....(4,204)	2	12,612	716,	7,	1,093,	1,816,
20,873		2	12,612	716,	7,	1,093,	1,816,

(Y.)—Contd.—Income Tax Assessed, '56-7,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851,	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL,
20,312	West Midland—Contd.			£	£	£	£
—	HEREFORD .....(1,761)	3	7,330	727,	641,	80,	1,448,
2,426	Hereford .....(283)	2	832	50,	6,	47,	103,
1,118	Leominster .....(196)	2	370	19,	2,	15,	36,
3,544		4	1,202	69,	8,	62,	139,
21,587	SALOP, NORTH....(1,347)	2	4,227	679,	490,	223,	1,392,
3,900	Shrewsbury .....(519)	2	1,617	84,	9,	131,	224,
3,900		2	1,617	84,	9,	131,	224,
13,370	SALOP, SOUTH....(1,156)	2	3,183	563,	485,	94,	1,142,
1,516	Bridgnorth .....(387)	2	678	34,	11,	24,	69,
1,133	Ludlow .....(42)	2	407	17,	3,	23,	43,
4,165	Wenlock .....(135)	2	871	127,	32,	42,	201,
6,814		6	1,956	178,	46,	89,	313,
27,501	STAFFORD, NORTH....(2,030)	2	9,536	878,	619,	351,	1,848,
2,153	Newcastle under-Lyme (317)	2	997	26,	2,	45,	73,
1,977	Stafford .....(831)	2	1,252	29,	1,	37,	67,
15,562	*Stoke-upon-Trent	2	2,115	259,	19,	331,	609,
19,692		6	4,364	314,	22,	413,	749,
39,570	STAFFORD, SOUTH....(965)	2	11,202	1,148,	370,	538,	2,056,
1,412	Lichfield .....(60)	2	600	31,	9,	25,	65,
1,760	Tamworth .....(75)	2	419	23,	....	11,	34,
4,921	*Walsall.....	1	1,188	83,	15,	92,	190,
22,284	*Wolverhampton	2	3,611	496,	23,	399,	918,
30,377		7	5,818	633,	47,	527,	1,207,
22,692	WORCESTER, EAST (915)	2	6,239	608,	392,	171,	1,171,
1,407	Droitwich .....(2)	1	371	55,	40,	9,	104,
7,119	*Dudley .....(93)	1	884	124,	2,	130,	256,
918	Evesham	2	330	22,	7,	20,	49,
9,444		4	1,585	201,	49,	159,	409,

under Schedules (A), (B), (D).—(Y.)—Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
12,570	West Midland— <i>Contd.</i> Worcester, West (773)	2	4,028	445,	281,	116,	842,
1,582	Bewdley .....(9)	1	370	26,	8,	28,	62,
3,656	Kidderminster	1	502	49,	2,	71,	122,
5,695	Worcester .....(678)	2	2,530	126,	5,	199,	330,
10,933		4	3,402	201,	15,	298,	514,
24,612	MONMOUTHSHIRE (1,072)	2	5,099	635,	296,	227,	1,158,
4,327	{ Monmouth.....(83) and 2 Contrib. Bors.....}	1	1,676	124,	6,	144,	274,
4,327		1	1,676	124,	6,	144,	274,
21,527	VII.—Midland. WARWICK, NORTH (1,089)	2	6,832	629,	406,	212,	1,247,
45,844	*Birmingham.....	2	9,074	963,	12,	1,518,	2,493,
7,783	Coventry .....(3,723)	2	4,982	113,	5,	237,	355,
53,627		4	14,056	1,076,	17,	1,755,	2,848,
18,481	WARWICK, SOUTH (1,091)	2	3,522	649,	453,	260,	1,362,
2,229	Warwick .....(150)	2	734	48,	12,	66,	126,
2,229		2	734	48,	12,	66,	126,
19,226	LEICESTER, NORTH (929)	2	4,060	433,	430,	153,	1,016,
....	No Boroughs.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	
16,922	LEICESTER, SOUTH (1,039)	2	5,194	701,	457,	99,	1,257,
12,805	Leicester .....(1,450)	2	4,162	179,	10,	273,	462,
12,805		2	4,162	179,	10,	273,	462,
25,531	DERBY, NORTH (1,101)	2	5,496	524,	321,	211,	1,056,
....	No Boroughs.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	

(Y.)—Contd.—Income Tax Assessed, '56-7,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
25,641	Midland—Contd.			£	£	£	£
8,199	DERBY, SOUTH....(1,470)	2	7,047	707,	486,	186,	1,379,
8,199	Derby .....(439)	2	2,479	136,	3,	186,	325,
17,259		2	2,479	136,	3,	186,	325,
9,643	Notts, NORTH ....(386)	2	4,028	268,	105,	126,	499,
11,549	East Retford .....(492)	2	2,646	297,	241,	74,	612,
21,192	Nottingham .....(2,874)	2	5,650	212,	2,	554,	768,
14,198		4	8,296	509,	243,	628,	1,380,
2,370	Notts, SOUTH....(1,000)	2	3,654	470,	394,	60,	924,
2,370	Newark .....(493)	2	763	35,	4,	66,	105,
		2	763	35,	4,	66,	105,
	VIII.—North Western.						
31,407	CHESHIRE, NORTH (1,674)	2	6,693	838,	384,	404,	1,626,
8,312	*Macclesfield	2	1,106	93,	8,	113,	214,
10,568	*Stockport	2	1,417	150,	7,	128,	285,
18,880		4	2,523	243,	15,	241,	499,
32,559	CHESHIRE, SOUTH (2,158)	2	7,068	1,064,	604,	382,	2,050,
5,173	Chester.....(1,451)	2	2,428	89,	5,	168,	262,
5,173		2	2,428	89,	5,	168,	262,
57,935	LANCASHIRE, NORTH (3,296)	2	12,352	1,253,	622,	666,	*2,541,
7,919	*Blackburn	2	1,518	157,	6,	211,	374,
2,192	Clitheroe	1	457	41,	20,	26,	87,
2,891	Lancaster.....(400)	2	1,328	52,	8,	78,	138,
11,348	Preston.....(1,196)	2	2,793	217,	5,	323,	545,
24,350		7	6,096	467,	39,	638,	1,144,

under Schedules (A), (B), (D).—(Y.)—Contd.

1	2	3	5	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
North Western—Contd.							
90,920	LANCASHIRE, SOUTH (2,933)	2	20,450	2,772,	908,	1,608,	5,288,
5,346	*Ashton-under-Lyne.....	1	1,085	107,	2,	101,	210,
10,394	*Bolton	2	1,933	160,	3,	272,	435,
5,825	*Bury	1	1,218	77,	5,	146,	228,
54,310	Liverpool	2	18,314	1,765,	2,	5,280,	7,047,
53,204	*Manchester	2	18,044	1,531,	3,	3,243,	4,776,
13,658	*Oldham	2	2,098	180,	8,	153,	341,
5,829	*Rochdale	1	1,255	123,	7,	176,	306,
15,342	*Salford	1	4,028	342,	10,	226,	578,
4,380	*Warrington	1	720	61,	7,	123,	191,
5,686	Wigan	2	797	99,	4,	133,	236,
173,974		15	49,492	4,445,	50,	9,853,	14,348,
YORKSHIRE, W. R. (5,936)							
158,247		2	37,153	3,351,	1,138,	229,	4,718,
19,002	*Bradford	2	3,279	382,	13,	502,	897,
6,528	*Halifax	2	1,488	125,	2,	234,	361,
5,739	*Huddersfield	1	1,552	130,	9,	251,	390,
1,326	Knarborough	2	270	13,	4,	20,	37,
36,165	*Leeds	2	6,204	580,	38,	875,	1,493,
2,496	Pontefract	2	705	41,	17,	34,	92,
1,345	Ripon	2	339	20,	4,	25,	49,
27,099	*Sheffield	2	6,874	472,	27,	642,	1,141,
4,390	*Wakefield	1	967	74,	3,	123,	200,
104,090		16	21,678	1,837,	117,	2,706,	4,660,
IX.—Northern.							
25,632	DURHAM, NORTH....(923)	2	5,847	602,	247,	205,	1,054,
1,768	Durham	2	1,184	59,	2,	47,	108,
3,520	*Gateshead	1	895	76,	6,	60,	142,
3,439	*South Shields	1	1,079	76,	4,	113,	193,
8,519	*Sunderland	2	2,493	217,	6,	371,	594,
17,246		6	5,651	428,	18,	591,	1,037,
22,099	DURHAM, SOUTH (1,219)	2	5,565	680,	320,	295,	1,295,
....	No Boroughs.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	

(Y.)—Contd.—Income Tax Assessed, '56-7,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Owners.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
Northern—Contd.							
12,203	NORTHUMBERLD., N. (1,068)	2	3,296	506,	447,	72,	1,025,
2,028	Berwick .....(344)	2	805	41,	12,	44,	97,
1,467	Morpeth .....(103)	1	391	52,	20,	14,	86,
3,495		3	1,196	93,	32,	58,	183,
17,303	NORTHUMBERLD. S. (1,285)	2	5,608	598,	357,	108,	1,063,
10,441	Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1,618)	2	5,962	351,	11,	694,	1,056,
4,295	*Tynemouth	1	1,048	86,	10,	163,	259,
14,736		3	7,010	437,	21,	857,	1,315,
14,601	CUMBERLAND, EAST (1,035)	2	5,693	462,	373,	65,	900,
3,956	Carlisle .....(330)	2	1,223	85,	4,	106,	195,
3,956		2	1,223	85,	4,	106,	195,
13,073	CUMBERLAND, WEST (1,021)	2	4,389	390,	258,	57,	705,
1,506	Cockermouth.....	2	408	28,	11,	16,	55,
3,627	*Whitehaven	1	555	67,	3,	78,	148,
5,133		3	963	95,	14,	94,	203,
8,760	WESTMORELAND....(1126)	2	4,168	305,	250,	67,	622,
2,457	Kendal	1	402	32,	5,	59,	96,
2,457		1	402	32,	5,	59,	96,
36,323	YORKSHIRE, N. R....(4,358)	2	12,105	1,268,	873,	140,	2,281,
1,545	Malton .....(62)	2	594	26,	16,	26,	64,
1,064	Northallerton .....(5)	1	272	13,	6,	10,	29,
1,032	Richmond .....(10)	2	342	25,	12,	34,	71,
2,838	Scarborough .....(5)	2	934	53,	5,	74,	132,
1,154	Thirsk	1	398	27,	19,	11,	57,
2,239	*Whitby	1	532	42,	11,	51,	104,
7,778	York .....(2,695)	2	4,236	130,	4,	210,	344,
17,650		11	7,308	316,	69,	416,	801,

under Schedules (A), (B), (D).—(Y.)—Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
X.—Wales, South.							
20,467	GLAMORGAN .....(975)	2	6,356	491,	240,	107,	838,
3,034	Cardiff }	1	1,640	101,	3,	95,	199,
11,684	and 2 others }	1	1,263	338,	10,	74,	422,
8,491	*Merthyr Tydvil }	1	1,901	105,	15,	173,	293,
	Swansea }						
	4 others }						
23,209		3	4,804	544,	28,	342,	914,
18,780	CARMARTHEN (917)	2	4,272	351,	302,	42,	695,
3,454	Carmarthen }	1	799	59,	15,	81,	155,
	and 1 other }						
3,454		1	779	59,	15,	81,	155,
13,988	PEMBROKE .....(499)	1	2,784	301,	244,	6,	551,
1,995	Haverfordwest..... }	1	740	21,	6,	34,	61,
2,930	2 others..... }	1	810	40,	10,	39,	89,
	Pembroke..... }						
	3 others..... }						
4,925		2	1,550	61,	16,	73,	150,
12,996	CARDIGAN .....(699)	1	2,796	189,	145,	15,	349,
2,436	Cardigan }	1	849	29,	7,	36,	72,
	3 others }						
2,436		1	849	29,	7,	36,	72,
10,511	BRECKNOCK .....(638)	1	2,609	241,	131,	29,	401,
1,236	Brecon .....(4)	1	323	21,	5,	34,	50,
1,236		1	323	21,	5,	24,	50,
3,244	RADNOR .....(473)	1	1,662	109,	100,	2,	211,
1,381	Radnor..... }	1	447	33,	26,	9,	68,
	5 others..... }						
1,381		1	447	33,	26,	9,	68,

(Y.)—Contd.—Income Tax Assessed '56-7, under Schedules (A), (B), (D).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inhabited Houses, 1851.	COUNTIES AND BOROUGHES THEREIN.	Mem- bers.	Electors on Register, 1856-7.	Income Tax paid on Sums as under. 1856-7.			
No.		No.	No.	A. (Lands- Owners.)	B. (Lands- Occupiers.)	D. (Trades.)	TOTAL.
XL.—Wales, North.							
9,479	MONTGOMERY ....(1,133)	1	2,872	275,	256,	18,	549,
3,871	Montgomery } (67)	1	927	61,	4,	43,	108,
3,871	5 others }	1	927	61,	4,	43,	108,
10,078	FLINT .....(612)	1	2,889	255,	157,	62,	476,
3,963	Flint..... } (186)	1	817	57,	29,	50,	136,
3,963	7 others..... }	1	817	57,	29,	50,	136,
15,666	DENBIGH .....(1,179)	2	4,425	472,	265,	40,	777,
3,458	Denbigh } (303)	1	861	40,	23,	42,	105,
3,458	3 others..... }	1	861	40,	23,	42,	105,
8,159	MERIONETH .....(437)	1	1,126	160,	117,	37,	314,
....	No Boroughs .....	....	....	....	....	....	....
....	
13,424	CARNARVON .....(470)	1	2,060	283,	167,	26,	476,
4,581	Carnarvon } (154)	1	919	55,	10,	44,	109,
4,581	4 others..... }	1	919	55,	10,	44,	109,
9,532	ANGLESEY .....(481)	1	2,388	156,	140,	11,	307,
2,592	Beaumaris } (5)	1	473	35,	10,	23,	68,
2,592	3 others..... }	1	473	35,	10,	23,	68,

APPENDIX (III.)

SUFFRAGE AND SCALE OF VOTING *under the POOR LAW and LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTS.*—*System of Voting Papers.*—*Actual RESULTS of Poor Law Elections in 1857.*

The Suffrage possessed by the Rate Payers of Parishes for the Election of the Poor Law Guardians, first generally established by the Reformed Poor Law of 1834, differs more widely than is commonly understood from the Borough and County Parliamentary Suffrage.

The persons entitled to vote at the Election of Poor Law Guardians, are persons who have been rated to the Poor Rate for the year preceding the voting, and the scale of voting is as follows (7 & 8 Vict., cap. 101) :—

- (a) Each Owner *and* each Rate Payer, under 50*l.*, has *one* vote.
- (b) If 50*l.* and under 100*l.* *two* votes.
- (c) If 100*l.* and less than 150*l.* *three* votes.
- (d) If 150*l.* and less than 200*l.* *four* votes.
- (e) If 200*l.* and less than 250*l.* *five* votes.
- (f) If 250*l.* and above, *six* votes.
- (g) If the voter be both *owner* and *occupier*, he may vote in *both* capacities.
- (h) Owners may vote by *proxy*.
- (i) The Voting is in writing, by Voting Papers.
- (k) *Occupiers* of small tenements, the owners of which are rated to the poor, cannot vote in respect of their occupation (13 and 14 Vict., cap. 99), nor can the owners of such tenements vote for them as occupiers.

This scale of Voting is markedly Cumulative, but it has been found to answer with tolerable success the purposes for which it was designed.

Under the Parish Vestry Act of 1818 (58 George III, cap. 69), known as Sturges Bourne's Act, the scale of Voting in Parish Vestries was—

- (a) If rated at any amount under 50*l.* *one* vote.
- (b) If rated at 50*l.*, and under 75*l.*, *two* votes.
- (c) 75*l.*, and not above 100*l.*, *three* votes.
- (d) 100*l.* „ 125*l.*, *four* votes.
- (e) 125*l.* „ 150*l.*, *five* votes.
- (f) 150*l.* and above, *six* votes.

Under the further Parish Vestry Act of 1831 (1 & 2 Wm. IV., cap. 60), it is competent for the Ratepayers of a Parish in which the number of Ratepayers is not less than 800 (the population therefore being, say 3,000), to determine, subject to certain conditions, that the Parish shall be managed by an Elected Vestry; and on the Election of the Members of such Vestry, no Ratepayer has more than *one* vote. Most of the District Boards, under the Metropolis Local Management Act of 1855, are elected under provisions the same in substance as in this Act of 1831.

Precisely the same scale and mode of Voting, as for Poor Law Guardians, is adopted by the Public Health Act of 1848 (11 and 12 Vict., cap. 63) for the Election of Members of Local Boards of Health, and the scale is confirmed and made general for the purposes of the enlarged and amended statute of 1858 (21 and 22 Vict., cap. 98) for making further “Provision for the Government of Towns and Populous Districts.”

The polling for Poor Law Guardians, it will be seen, is to be by “Voting Papers,” that is, by means of properly prepared printed papers left by authorized persons at the residences of Voters, to be filled up by the Voter with the name of the Candidate for whom he desires to vote—in other words, *instead of bringing the Voter to the Poll, the Poll is brought to the Voter*, and by that means the time of the Voter is saved, his convenience is consulted, and no small part of the noise,

clamour, and confusion of the day of Election avoided. Lord Ebrington has for a long period taken great pains to promote the adoption of the plan of Voting Papers. In his pamphlet of 1854, on "Representative Self-Government for the Metropolis" (Ridgway), the question is very fully discussed; and in 1855 he addressed a memorandum on the subject to the President of the Poor Law Board, which will be found printed in Parliamentary Paper 227/55. The cost of conveying Voters to the Poll is, in many places, overwhelming; and as the Legislature has now legalised (by the Act of last year, 21 & 22 Vict., cap. 87—2 Aug. 1858, Corrupt Practices Prevention), the payment of such expenses by the Candidate, it is hardly to be expected that this class of expenditure will diminish. Lord Ebrington says that at his Marylebone Election of 1853, the cost of conveying his Voters to the Poll was 365*l.*, the whole bill being 4,937*l.* He mentions a County in which the item of conveyance was 2,000*l.* But not even the most extravagant appliances succeed in bringing any large portion of Parliamentary Voters to the Poll in large constituencies. The general result of the Poll Returns of the several contested General Elections of 1852 is, that from *one-half to two-thirds* (50 to 66 per cent.) of the Voters in the register of contested places exercised their suffrage. Lord Ebrington says that at his Marylebone Election three-fourths of the Electors, in some of the wealthiest streets and squares of Paddington, never polled at all.

As regards the abuses and evasions to which the employment of Voting Papers is exposed, Lord Ebrington says, that during his tenure of the office of Secretary of the Poor Law Board, the alleged frauds at the Elections of Guardians resolved themselves into two classes, viz., (1) tampering with the Voting Paper by the Returning Officer, or by the Vote Collectors, at his instigation; or (2) tampering with the Voting Papers, by the *Vote Collectors*, at the instigation of some interested party. But under each head the proved abuses were very few in number, and Lord Ebrington points out practical precautions, which he considers would reduce the chances of abuse by Voting Papers below the chances of abuse, by personation or otherwise, under the present system.

A strong proof of the growing disposition to employ the Voting Paper system, is certainly afforded by the deliberate adoption and extension of the plan in the Local Government Act of 1858.

Availing myself of facts contained in Parliamentary Paper 314/57, I have collected in the following Table (Z) twenty-one illustrations of the Poor Law Suffrage, and the Voting Paper plan, in various parts of England, in 1857, and the results are important.

(1) We find, first, that comparing the Poor Law Suffrage and the Parliamentary Suffrage, with the number of Inhabited Houses in the respective areas, the Poor Law Voters are not more than 5 @ 8 per cent. more than the Parliamentary Voters.

(2) We find, next, that more than 80 *per cent.* of the Poor Law Voting Papers employed at the several Elections were actually collected; in other words, while the suffrages actually exercised at *Parliamentary* Elections are, say 50 to 60 *per cent.* of the whole—at Poor Law Elections the proportion is (say) 80 to 90 *per cent.* No doubt, some portion of the large difference of 30 per cent. between these results arises from deterring causes which apply to the Parliamentary, and not to the Poor Law franchise. Still it is not to be denied that the inconvenience of personal attendance at the Polling Booth, within a few hours of a single day, does of itself practically disfranchise a large part of the most desirable class of voters.

(Z.)—POOR LAW SUFFRAGE—*England 1857—as compared with Parliamentary Suffrage—Results of Poor Law Elections by VOTING PAPERS in various parts of England obtained from Parl. Paper 314/57, with several collateral Cols.*

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Popula- tion Boros. (Persons) 1851.	PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH.	Poor Law District, Parish, &c.			Parliamentary Boroughs.			No. of Voting Papers col- lected '57.	Per Cent. on Papers sent out.
	[The long tail figures are the <i>Old Suffrage</i> Votes.]	Inhabited Houses '51.	Voting Papers sent out '57.		Inhabited Houses '51.	Parlia- mentary Electors 56-7.			
No.	(II.) SO.-EASTERN COS.	No.	No.	P. ct.	No.	No.	P. ct.	No.	P. ct.
105·8	Greenwich	5,364	2,714	51·	15,401	7,888	51·	2,620	96·
5·3	Lymington	812	433	53·	1,029	323	31·	268	62·
5·0	Reigate	253	173	68·	792	442	55·	142	82·
116·1		6,429	3,320	51·	17,222	8,653	50·	3,030	91·
	(IV.) EASTERN COS.								
17·5	Boston .....(160)	3,071	1,036	34·	3,622	1,057	29·	795	77·
	(V.) SO.-MDLND. COS.								
11·4	Barnstaple .....(260)	1,554	648	42·	2,116	742	35·	467	72·
11·1	Tiverton .....(10)	2,181	632	29·	2,181	482	22·	448	71·
4·4	Totness .....(20)	1,132	630	56·	728	315	43·	521	83·
10·1	Frome	2,512	724	29·	2,122	363	17·	674	93·
37·0		7,389	2,634	35·	7,147	1,902	27·	2,110	80·
	(VI.) WST. MDLND. COS.								
5·2	Leominster .....(196)	1,118	391	35·	1,118	370	33·	297	76·
10·6	Newcastle-un.-Lyme (317)	2,095	1,350	64·	2,153	997	46·	720	53·
25·7	Walsall	5,144	642	12·	4,921	1,118	24·	613	95·
18·5	Kidderminster	4,742	571	12·	5,695	502	9·	542	95·
60·0		13,099	2,954	22·	13,889	3,057	21·	2,172	76·
	(VIII.) NO.-WSTRN. COS.								
61·2	Bolton	6,548	1,731	26·	10,394	1,933	19·	1,611	93·
31·2	Bury	13,245	4,131	31·	5,825	1,218	21·	3,254	79·
33·6	Halifax	6,211	1,892	30·	6,528	1,488	23·	1,446	76·
135·3	Sheffield	27,099	12,996	48·	27,099	6,874	25·	9,633	74·
22·1	Wakefield	3,274	2,148	66·	4,390	967	22·	1,960	91·
283·4		56,377	22,898	41·	54,236	12,480	24·	17,904	80·
	(IX.) NORTHERN COS.								
15·1	Berwick .....(344)	2,215	639	29·	2,028	805	40·	553	86·
29·2	Tynemouth	2,528	1,250	49·	4,295	1,048	24·	906	80·
29·0	South Shields	1,850	800	43·	3,439	1,079	31·	673	84·
67·4	Sunderland	1,775	789	44·	8,519	2,493	29·	510	65·
140·7		8,368	3,478	42·	18,281	5,425	29·	2,732	77·

APPENDIX (IV.)

ENGLAND AND WALES.—*Changes in the DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS, proposed by Lord John Russell in the Scheme of 1854, and by Mr. Bright in Jan. 1859.*

The following Table (AA), sets out, according to the Territorial Divisions uniformly adopted throughout this enquiry, the changes proposed by Lord John Russell's scheme of '54, and by Mr. Bright, in January, 1859. The force of a *Territorial* arrangement is seen to great advantage in this table. A mere alphabetical order of places, or an order determined simply by magnitude of population, or number of electors, would fail wholly in conveying an adequate notion of the transfer of political power under either scheme from one part—or from one interest of the country to another.

It may be said, without much chance of error, that within this Table are contained the materials out of which both the *Withdrawals* and the *Enfranchisements* of any serious plan of Reform will be obtained. The two schemes of '54 and '59 may, at least, be regarded as defining the field of choice—I say nothing as to the true line of policy.

A summary of the Table (AA), will be found in the text in Table (Q).

The same distinguishing marks are employed in this Table as in Table (Y) *continued*. Thus the places in *Italics* (*e.g.*, *Reigate*) were reduced *one* member in 1832; and the places marked * (*e.g.*, Finsbury) were first enfranchised in that year.

I have given the *Electors* in the Register in 1856—7 of each of the places on the list of proposed *Withdrawals*, and I have also given the *Old Suffrage* voters in 1851—2.

In the next Appendix (V) are given various details relative to the electoral system of Prussia, and I may insert here the following comparison of the Prussian Chambers of 1855 and 1858. Thus a comparative analysis of the present and last Prussian Chambers of 1855 and 1858, gives the following results :—

CLASS.	1858.	1855.
Employés of a superior order	29	39
Landrätthe	27	77
Judges of all degrees	68	40
Advocates, &c.	21	17
Military Officers	4	15
Large Landed Proprietors	99	91
Merchants and Manufacturers.....	22	19
Clergy.....	19	16
	<hr/> 289	<hr/> 314

(AA).—ENGLAND AND WALES.—COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs.—*Detailed Statement of the RE-DISTRIBUTION of Members as proposed by Lord John Russell in the scheme of 1857 and by Mr. Bright in Jan. 1859.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Members to be Withdrawn.						Members to be Assigned.					
Electors, '56-7.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	[The long-tail figures are the <i>Old Suffrage</i> Voters in '51-2.] PLACES.	Future Members.		Present Members.		COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHs.	Future Members.			
			Rusl. '54.	Brgt. '59.	C. Ds.	Bors.		Scheme, '54.		Bright, '59	
								C. Ds.	Bors.	C. Ds.	Bors.
		(I.) METROPOLITAN,			2	....	Middlesex Co.....	3	....	2	....
					....	4	London City (7,203)	....	4	....	4
					....	2	Westmnr. City (499)	....	2	....	4
					....	2	*Finsbury .....	....	2	....	6
					....	2	*Marylebone .....	....	2	....	6
					....	2	*Tower Hamlets .....	....	2	....	8
					....	2	*Lambeth .....	....	2	....	4
					....	2	Southwark .....(332)	....	2	....	4
					....	....	Chelsea .....	....	2	....	2
					....	....	Kensington .....	....	....	....	2
					....	....	Inns of Court .....	....	2	....	....
					....	....	London University .....	....	1	....	....
					2	16		3	21	2	40
		(II.) SO.-EASTERN.					(II.) SO.-EASTERN.				
1,008	2	Sandwich .....(329)	2	1	2	....	Kent, East	3	....	2	....
1,180	2	Rochester .....(340)	2	1	2	....	„ West.....	3	....	3	....
442	1	Reigate .....	....	....	2	....	Surrey, East	3	....	2	....
666	2	Guildford.....(78)	1	....	....	....	Sussex, East	3	....	2	....
724	2	Lewes .....(158)	1	1	....	....	Hants, North	3	....	2	....
199	1	Arundel .....(85)	....	....	2	....	*Chatham .....	....	1	....	2
638	2	Chichester .....(76)	1	1	....	....	*Greenwich .....	....	2	....	3
350	1	Horsham	1	....	....	1	*Brighton .....	....	2	....	3
411	1	Midhurst .....	....	....	....	2	Portsmouth .....	....	2	....	3
233	2	Andover .....	....	....	....	2	Gravesend .....	....	....	....	1
331	1	Petersfield	1	....	....	....		
842	2	Winchester .....(17)	2	1	....	2					
328	1	Christchurch	1	....	....	....		
323	2	Lymington	1	....	....	....		
654	2	Newport. I. W.	1	1	....	....			
8,329	24		14	6	10	7		15	7	11	12

(A.A.—Contd.)—PROPOSED RE-DISTRIBUTION

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Members to be Withdrawn.						Members to be Assigned.					
Electors, '56-7.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	PLACES.	Future Members.		Present Members.		COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES.	Future Members.			
			Rusl. '54.	Brgt. '59.	C. Ds.	Bors.		Scheme, '54.		Bright, '59.	
								C. Ds.	Bors.	C. Ds.	Bors.
		(III.) SO.-MDLND.					(III.) SO.-MDLND.				
323	1	Abingdon	1	....	2	....	Bedfordshire	3	....	2	....
642	2	Windsor	1	I							
620	2	Hertford .....(169)	1	....						
354	2	Buckingham	1	I							
390	2	Wycombe	1	....						
343	2	Marlow .....(54)	1	....						
336	1	Woodstock .....(37)	1	....						
542	2	Peterborough ... (113)	1	I							
879	2	Bedford .....(398)	2	I							
4,429	16		10	4	2			3	2
		(IV.) EASTERN.					(IV.) EASTERN.				
382	2	Huntingdon.....(63)	1	...	2	....	Essex, North	3	....	3	....
					2	....	„ South	3	....	3	....
313	2	Harwich .....	....	....	2	....	Norfolk, East	3	....	2	....
879	2	Maldon (60)	1	....	2	....	„ West	3	....	3	....
218	2	Thetford .....	....	....	2	....	Suffolk, East	3	....	2	....
					2	....	„ West	3	....	2	....
359	1	Eye (28)	1	....			Lincoln, Lindsey	3	....	3	....
702	2	Bury St. Edmunds....	2	I	2	....	„ Holland	3	....	2	....
					2	....	York, East Riding ...	3	....	2	....
740	2	Grantham .....(236)	2	I			Norwich .....(2,930)	....	2	....	3
529	2	Stamford .....(139)	1	I	2	....	Hull .....(1,834)	....	2	....	3
1,136	2	Beverley.....(907)	2	I	....	2					
					....	2					
5,258	17		10	4	18	4		27	4	22	6

OF REPRESENTATIVES.—(A.A.)—*Contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Members to be Withdrawn.					Members to be Assigned.						
Electors, '56-7.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	PLACES.	Future Members.		Present Members.		COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES.	Future Members.			
			Rusl. '54.	Brgt. '59.	C. Ds.	Bors.		Scheme, '54.		Bright, '59.	
								C. Ds.	Bors.	C. Ds.	Bors.
		(v.) SO.-WESTERN.					(v.) SO.-WESTERN.				
164	1	Calne .....	....	....	2	....	Devon, North	3	....	2	....
334	2	Chippenham	1	....	2	....	„ South	3	....	3	....
319	2	Devizes	1	....						
315	1	Malmesbury .....(13)	1	....	2	....	Cornwall, East.....	3	....	2	....
242	2	Marlborough .....	....	....	2	....	„ West	3	....	3	....
650	2	Salisbury .....(18)	2	I							
342	1	Westbury	1	....	2	....	Somerset, East	3	....	3	....
251	1	Wilton.....(10)	....	I	2	....	„ West	3	....	3	....
478	2	Bridport .....(35)	1	....	2	....	Bath.....	....	2	....	3
451	2	Dorchester	1	....						
263	1	Lyme Regis .....	....	....					
539	2	Poole .....(43)	1	I							
509	1	Shaftesbury.....(89)	1	I							
312	1	Wareham .....(17)	1	....						
681	2	Weymouth .....(22)	1	I							
742	2	Barnstaple .....(260)	2	I							
482	2	Tiverton .....(10)	1	I							
182	1	Ashburton .....(15)	....	....					
269	1	Dartmouth.....	....	....					
264	2	Honiton .....(91)	....	....					
395	2	Tavistock	1	I							
315	2	Totness .....(20)	....	....					
390	2	Bodmin .....(10)	1	....						
438	1	Launceston.....	1	....						
372	1	Liskeard.....	1	....						
309	1	Helston	1	....						
856	2	Penryn .....(173)	2	I							
536	1	St. Ives	1	I							
646	2	Truro	2	I							
363	1	Frome.....	1	I							
343	2	Wells .....(76)	....	....					
589	2	Bridgewater.....(18)	2	I							
889	2	Taunton .....(97)	2	I							
14,230	52		30	14	12	2		18	2	16	3

(A.A.)—Contd.—PROPOSED RE-DISTRIBUTION

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Members to be Withdrawn.					Members to be Assigned.						
Electors, '56-7.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	PLACES.	Future Members.		Present Members.		COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGHES.	Future Members.			
			Rusl. '54.	Brgt. '59.	C. Ds.	Bors.		Scheme, '54.		Bright, '59.	
								C. Ds.	Bors.	C. Ds.	Bors.
		(VI.) WST. MDLND.					(VI.) WST. MDLND.				
423	2	Cirencester ....(115)	1	....	2	....	Gloucester, West.....	3	....	2	....
371	2	Tewkesbury.....(49)	1	....	2	....	Salop, North	3	....	2	....
832	2	Hereford .....(283)	2	I	2	....	Stafford, North	3	....	2	....
370	2	Leominster ....(196)	1	....	2	....	„ South	3	....	3	....
678	2	Bridgewater ....(387)	1	....	2	....	Worcester, East	3	....	2	....
407	2	Ludlow .....(42)	1	....	2	....	Monmouthshire	3	....	2	....
997	2	Nwcst-u-Lyme (317)	2	I	2	....	Bristol.....(4,204)	....	3	....	4
1,252	2	Stafford .....831)	2	I	....	2	*Wolverhampton .....	....	3	....	3
600	2	Lichfield .....(601)	1	....	....	1	*Cheltenham.....	....	1	....	2
419	2	Tamworth .....(75)	1	I	....	2	*Stoke-upon-Trent ...	....	2	....	3
371	1	Droitwich	1	....	....	1	*Walsall .....	....	1	....	2
330	2	Evesham .....(93)	....	....	....	1	*Dudley.....	....	1	....	2
370	1	Bewdley	1	....	....	1	Monmouth .....	....	1	....	2
7,420	24		15	4	12	10		18	12	13	18
		(VII.) MIDLAND.					(VII.) MIDLAND.				
734	2	Warwick .....(150)	2	I	2	....	Warwick, North	3	....	2	....
763	2	Newark .....(493)	2	I	2	....	Derby, North	3	....	2	....
					2	....	„ South	3	....	2	....
					....	2	*Birmingham .....	....	3	....	4
					....	2	Leicester .....(1,450)	....	2	....	3
					....	2	Nottingham ... (2,874)	....	2	....	3
					....	....	Leamington .....	....	....	....	1
1,497	4		4	2	6	6		9	7	6	11

OF REPRESENTATIVES.—(A.A.)—*Contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Members to be Withdrawn.						Members to be Assigned.					
Electors, '56-7.	Pre- sent Mem- bers.	PLACES.	Future Members.		Present Members.		COUNTY DIVISIONS AND BOROUGH.	Future Members.			
			Rusl. '54.	Brgt. '59.	C. Ds.	Bors.		Scheme, '54.		Bright, '59.	
								C. Ds.	Bors.	C. Ds.	Bors.
		(VIII.) N.-WSTRN.					(VIII.) N.-WSTRN.				
270	2	Knaresborough .....	....	....	2	....	Cheshire, North	3		2	....
705	2	Pontefract.....(201)	2	1	2	....	„ South	3	..	2	....
339	2	Ripon	1	....						
					2	....	Lancashire, North ...	3	....	3	....
					2	....	„ South	3	....	4	....
					....	....	„ So.-East	3	....	....	....
					2	....	York, West Riding....	6	....	6	....
					....	....	Birkenhead		1	....	1
					....	....	Stalybridge		1	....	1
					2	....	Liverpool.....(2,225)		3	..	6
					2	....	*Manchester		3	....	6
					1	....	*Salford.....		2	....	3
					....	....	Burnley		1	....	1
					2	....	Preston		2	....	3
					1	....	*Ashton-un.-Lyme ...		1	....	2
					2	....	*Bolton		2	....	3
					1	....	*Bury.....		1	....	2
					2	....	*Oldham		2	....	3
					1	....	*Rochdale		1	....	2
					2	....	*Leeds		3	....	4
					2	....	*Bradford		3	....	3
					2	....	*Sheffield		3	....	4
					1	....	*Huddersfield		1	....	2
1,314	6		3	1	10	21		21	30	17	46
		(IX.) NORTHERN.					(IX.) NORTHERN.				
1,184	2	Durham	2	1	2	....	Durham, North	3	....	2	....
805	2	Berwick.....(344)	2	1	2	....	„ South	3	....	2	....
408	2	Cockermouth	1	....						
594	2	Malton.....(62)	1	....	2	....	York, North Riding	3		3	....
272	1	Northallerton.....	....	....					
342	2	Richmond .....	....	....	1	....	*Gateshead		1	....	2
934	2	Scarborough	2	1	....	1	*South Shields		1	....	2
398	1	Thirsk	1	....	2	....	*Sunderland		2	....	3
					....	2	Nwest-up-Tyne(1618)		2	....	3
					1	....	*Tynemouth		1	....	2
4,937	14		9	3	6	7		9	7	7	12
		(X.) S. & N. WALES.					(X.) S. & N. WALES.				
323	1	Brecon	1	....	2	....	Glamorganshire	3	....	2	....
1,662	1	Radnor	1	....						
					1	....	*Merthyr Tydvil		1	....	3
					1	....	Swansea		1	....	2
1,985	2		2	....	2	2		3	2	2	5

APPENDIX (V.)

ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF PRUSSIA.—*Facts relating to the recent General Election of Nov. 1858, in Prussia.*

The recent letters of the Correspondent of the *Times*, at Berlin, have contained much valuable information relative to the present Electoral system of Prussia, and as to the manner in which it has stood the test of the General Elections of November last (1858), occasioned by the extensive changes arising out of the final Establishment of the Regency of the Prince of Prussia. The following Extracts are from those portions of the letters which contain the leading facts. The passages referring to mere controversies of party, are omitted.

"(Berlin, 11th November, 1858.)—As the forms and constitution of the Prussian Chambers were remodelled more than once in the unsettled times of 1848-50, and have undergone various amendments since 1850, it can hardly be expected that English readers should know what they are; indeed, only a week ago there was so much uncertainty here on the point, that it was thought, necessary to issue a memorandum from the Ministry of the Interior, to state that the elections must be conducted according to the ordinance of the 30th of May, 1849. The charter of 31st January, 1850, embodies a regulation differing in many respects from this, but that regulation has not yet the force of law.

"According to the ordinance of 30th of May, 1849, then, the Chamber of Deputies consists of 350 members. These Deputies are not elected immediately by their constituents, but on the plan adopted for the Presidential election in the United States; the constituencies (*Urwähler*) elected a limited number of representatives or proxies (*Wahlmänner*), by whom the Deputies are elected. In both cases the election is by plurality of votes. The suffrage, in the first instance, is possessed by every Prussian of 24 years of age who has not lost civil rights by sentence of a court of justice, and does not receive relief from the poor rates. He must, besides, have been six months resident in the commune in which he votes. But this last condition does not apply to the Army, or to the Depôts of the Militia Regiments, who vote in the commune in which they may happen to be stationed, or, where the corps is large enough, poll by themselves.

"This constituency which amounts very nearly to "manhood suffrage," is divided, for convenience of polling, into sections (*Urwahlbezirken*). The size and limits of these sections are wholly arbitrary, and the distribution exists for the purpose of this election only. Besides this *numerical* distribution, the constituency is further distributed *curially* into three classes. These classes are founded upon the amount of direct taxes paid by each constituent in the following manner:—The total amount of direct taxes paid by the section, is taken and divided into three equal parts. The names of those voters in the section, who pay the highest amount of tax, are put together till a third part of the whole amount is made up. These form a first class. Again, as many names are taken as will make up the amount of another third part of the total of the direct taxation of the section, and these from the second class. The third class is formed of all the rest. Each of these classes elects an equal number, *i.e.*, a third part, of the whole number of proxies (*Wahlmänner*) to be chosen by the section. Suppose *e.g.*, that a section is composed of 400 electors. Ten, perhaps, out of the 400 will pay, in direct taxes, a sum equal to the third part of the taxation of the whole. Consequently, Class 1 in that section will contain only 10 electors. But these 10 will elect as many proxies as Class 2, which may consist, say, of 140 electors; or as Class 3, which will consequently contain 250 electors. This is the arrangement of the constituencies (*Urwähler*).

"The number of the proxies (*Wahlmänner*) who are elected by the constituencies is determined by the number, not of the electors, but of the population. For every 750 of the gross population one proxy is to be elected., Thus, in Berlin if the

population amounted (it does not quite) to 500,000, there would be 2,000 *Wahlmänner* to elect. Every *Urwähler* is qualified to be chosen a *Wahlmann*. The size of the sections is arbitrary, that is to say, they may be smaller, but they may not be larger, than to have to choose six proxies, observing the above proportion of one proxy to every 570 of the gross population.

"The proxies proceed to the election of Deputies by open poll, as with us. Every Prussian is qualified to be chosen a Deputy who has completed his 30th year and has not lost his civic rights by sentence of a Court of Justice. The total number (350) of which the Chamber of Deputies consists, is distributed among the Provinces of the Prussian monarchy as follows :—

Provinces.	Population in 1855.	No. of Deputies.
Prussia (Preussen)	2,610,000	54
Brandenburg (Berlin)	1,800,000	45
Posen	1,400,000	30
Pomerania	1,300,000	25
Silesia	3,150,000	66
Saxony	1,840,000	38
Westphalia.....	1,520,000	31
The Rhine	2,950,000	61
Total.....		350

"As the day for the election of the *Wahlmänner*, viz., Friday next, approaches, the disadvantages to the Ministerial and Liberal party, arising from the shortness of the time allowed, make themselves very sensibly felt. There have been meetings in Berlin every evening during the week, and in all the sections. In these meetings names are proposed, discussed, and put round to be voted on, in the manner of a caucus, and each candidate has an opportunity of stating his views to the electors. These meetings, from the small number of persons who are qualified to attend, are much more efficient for the purpose of ascertaining the feeling of the voters, than our huge assemblies with public addresses, where the greater part of the persons present are not voters. But, on the other hand, the number of the sections, each section having its separate meeting, is so great that one section does not know what is doing in another. It requires, therefore, a considerable time before anything like concerted action can be set agoing, even before anything like the general sense of the citizens can be gathered. I was introduced to one of these meetings by a friend last night. It was presided over by a Stadt-rath. Anything more methodical and thorough than the management of the business, in which the proceedings of a caucus were over and above complicated by having to be adapted to the tripartite system, which I have above explained, it is impossible to wish for. The Germans certainly have a happy power of organization.

"(*Berlin*, 15 Nov. 1858).—Having in my last described the organization of the constituent body, which is represented by the Chamber of Deputies, I now add some elucidations of the mode in which the system works.

"One of the most original features of the system is its combination of what has come to be called among us in England 'manhood suffrage' with 'rating suffrage.' The one is corrected by the other, without anybody being excluded. Every Prussian, or nearly so, has a vote, but the vote of one elector is more powerful than the vote of another in the proportion of the amount of the direct taxes he pays. This infusion of a 'tax' qualification, however, has not all the effect which a 'rating' qualification has with us, viz., of giving a preponderance to property; for the amount of direct taxes paid is not in any ratio to capital, but depends on consumption. Those traders who deal in exciseable articles, as butchers, bakers, wine-merchants, &c., come to the top. The first class (*Abtheilung*) in a section may be composed exclusively of these tradesmen, while their wealthy customers, the banker and the merchant, find themselves in the second class. Whether this was so

intended by the framers of the scheme I do not know, but so it has turned out; and as the eight or ten electors who may compose a first class elect as many proxies (*Wahlmänner*) as the 300 or 400 who form the third class in their section, this gives a great power to the tradesmen as against the gentry and the working classes of the towns.

"A radical defect in the Prussian system is the purely arbitrary nature of the districts (*Bezirke*) into which the constituency is divided. You saw that one of the 'nine points' of the Silesian programme required 'that the electoral districts be fixed by law.' The Home-office is accustomed to new model the partition of the constituencies on occasion of each election, *i.e.*, once in every three years. This power had been employed in 1855 by the late Minister (Von Westphalen) with the avowed object of packing the House. Liberal districts were swamped by being broken up into fragments, and attached piecemeal to districts of which Government was already sure. It is against this abuse of the existing law that the Silesian protest is directed; but this is only an *abuse* of the system. If we look at the organization itself, we shall see a fundamental weakness in it. The constituency throughout Prussia is parcelled out into sections, which have no coherence whatever, inasmuch as they exist for the purpose of electing a deputy only. That function performed, the section disappears till the next triennial period. No corporate life, or associated interest, can possibly grow up within it. The want of such a basis of common interest was very sensibly felt at the late election in Berlin. Here, as in all great cities, next door neighbours know nothing of each other. If you occupy an apartment on the first floor, you don't, unless you are very curious, know even the names of the families who rent the second and third, and who pass up and down your staircase at all hours of the day. But, as the sections followed the *numérotege* of the streets, and as the law required the proxies chosen to be resident within the district, it constantly happened that when the electors met for previous consultation they did not know each other by sight. Not only was selection impossible under such circumstances, but no bond whatever can exist between the persons chosen and their electors. The constituencies are aggregates of units, have no corporate feeling themselves, and can, therefore, communicate none to their representatives.

"(*Berlin, 6th December, 1858*).—The Municipal Elections, which followed immediately upon the general election, are now over. Thrown into the shade by the greater public importance of the elections to the Chamber, as an indication of public feeling, the elections in the Town Corporations deserve attention. There is no mistake as to their political complexion. They have been, with a very rare exception here and there, wholly Liberal. A Town Corporation in Prussia consists of a (*Magistrat*), and a Common Council (*Stadtverordneten Versammlung*). The *Magistrat* is composed of a Mayor (*Bürgermeister*), a Deputy Mayor to preside in his absence, and, according to the size of the place, a number of Aldermen (*Stadträthe*), with separate functions. The whole *Magistrat* forms a Chamber, or College, collectively intrusted with the local administration in all affairs which do not come within the category of State business. The Common Council, who must never be less than six in towns of 2,500 inhabitants, and whose number increases with the population, are elected by the householders. One-third of the Common Council vacate their seats every three years. The *Magistrat* is elected by the Council for 12 years. The Common Council have the right, not only of deliberating and advising, but of deciding, upon all matters regarding the town which are not defined by law as belonging to the Executive. The history of the Municipal Constitutions in Prussia, is that of a continual progressive encroachment of the superior and central Power upon the prerogatives and attributes of the Elective Corporations. The Provincial Governments have continually obtained more and more power over the *Magistrat*, and the *Magistrat* have withdrawn more and more business from the competency of the Common Council. The original Municipal Constitution of the 19th of November, 1808, was one of the most valuable portions of the Stein-Hardenberg reforms, and was conceived in the most liberal spirit of leaving to the Cities and Towns the independent arrangement of their own affairs.

It is very deserving of notice, that the jealous encroachment of power upon this germ of free institutions in Prussia had begun long before the reaction consequent upon 1848. Already, in 1831, a revised Constitution for the Borough Towns was issued, abridging their independent administration in many important points. Of course the reaction accelerated the process. The present form of Constitution was passed by the Chamber in the height of the reaction, 30th of May, 1853, and breathes a spirit the very reverse of the Stein Ordinance of 1808, the spirit of anxious jealousy of all Corporate Independence. Though the *Bürgermeister* and *Stadträthe* remain Elective Officers, they require confirmation by the Crown, in Towns with a population above 10,000 by the Provincial Government in the smaller Towns. The competency of the Common Council has been gradually restrained, and the assent of the *Magistrat* made requisite to the validity of every order. In case of collision between the Council and the *Magistrat*, the Government decides. Above all, the police has been, in all the large Towns, taken out of their hands and put under the Central Bureau of Police. The peculiar aggravation of the Von Westphalen system was, that in addition to this encroachment of the Executive, all considerations of administrative utility were made to give way to political connexion, and the Town Constitutions were worked as an engine of party oppression. Notwithstanding, however, all that has been taken away, the basis still remains. It requires only some judicious reforms, not innovations, but only to return upon the steps of the reactionary innovation towards the system of 1808. I have had to remark many times before in this correspondence, that the reaction in Prussia has been checked just in time. It had gone so far as to damage and cripple and clip the wings of all the free institutions which time and the wisdom of its best Statesmen had given to the Country. It had not yet taken the final step of suppressing the thing and the name. The Municipal Constitutions still remain, and contain the germ of self-government in a far more vital shape than the Representative Chamber. Especially are they valuable, because that social change which in England and America has made the wealthier and superior class of citizens affect to shun what used to be called "civic honours" has not come over the Town Societies of Prussia.

"It is evident, however, that the reform of the Corporation Law is no isolated question. As long as the Central Government conceives itself to have an interest in keeping all Corporate life feeble, it will succeed in doing so in one way or another. Even if a better Municipal Constitution is enacted as law, the Executive will nibble it away in practice. Only a complete reversal of public policy, the conviction on the part of public Statesmen, that a State is strong by the localization of what *is* local, and the centralization of what is public, and the careful separation of these two kinds of interests, can establish any Corporation Reform here on a permanent basis."*

* The Legislatures of the Colonies of New South Wales and Victoria are on the point of reducing into practice measures of representative reform which have been for some time under discussion. The Reform Bill for *New South Wales* received the Governor's assent on 10th Dec., 1858, and provides for Manhood Suffrage, the Ballot, and residence without regard to Property. It also confers one member on Sydney University. In *Victoria*, Manhood Suffrage and the Ballot were adopted two or three years since. The Further Reform Bill, assented to by the Governor on 17th Dec., 1858, is directed to a revision of the places and districts of the Colony entitled to send members. In future there will be 78 members in the "Legislative Assembly" returned by 49 districts—no district returning more than three members. On the average there will be one member to each 5,700 of population. It was at first proposed to give a large increase of members to the urban and mining population, but that proposal was defeated. The duration of the Victoria Parliament is reduced from five years to three; and except the responsible ministers, all persons receiving public fees or salaries, are rendered ineligible to sit in the Assembly. One of the final measures of the expiring legislature of New South Wales had been the enactment of an Assessment Bill intended to reach in some measure the evils arising from the system of "Squatting" under leases on large areas of country—and in that manner preventing an extension of Land Sales.

The following Returns of the Number of Electors, and the Numbers Polled, are compiled from several letters of the Correspondent, dated in the course of December, 1858, from Berlin.

PRUSSIA.—GENERAL ELECTION in November 1858.—Results of ELECTIONS in various Provinces.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Province.	District.	Class.	Electors.	Polled.	Proportion Polled.
Pomerania	Coslin	First	No. 3,273	No. 1,700	52 ·
		Second ...	10,713	4,261	40 ·
		Third	69,883	18,058	25 ·
			83,869	24,019	26 ·
West Prussia	Marienburg	First	423	222	52 ·
		Second ...	943	292	28 ·
		Third	8,851	906	10 ·
			10,217	1,420	12 ·
„	Neustadt ...	First	388	205	51 ·
		Second ...	1,170	521	48 ·
		Third	6,494	1,175	26 ·
			8,052	2,701	33 ·
Dantzic	City of	First	293	202	66 ·
		Second ...	1,116	579	54 ·
		Third	16,042	2,504	15 ·
			17,451	3,285	18 ·
Berlin.....	City of	First	2,582	1,997	80 ·
		Second ...	9,525	5,781	60 ·
		Third	66,845	26,380	40 ·
			78,952	34,158	43 ·
			198,541	45,883	22 ·

“These Returns are exclusive of the *Military*, who vote by themselves. In Berlin, where the excitement was greatest, the Pollings are equal to 43 per cent. of the Votes. In Potsdam (environs of Berlin) the Pollings were not more than 21 per cent. of the Votes.

“In many Country Districts barely a sixth (17 per cent.), or even an eighth (12 per cent.), of the qualified electors appeared at the Poll. The classification system has led in various places to almost ludicrous consequences. In one district, where the First Class was composed of *Wahlmänner*, they elected each other. In another instance, one elector found himself the sole constituent in Class 1, and elected himself and his son.”